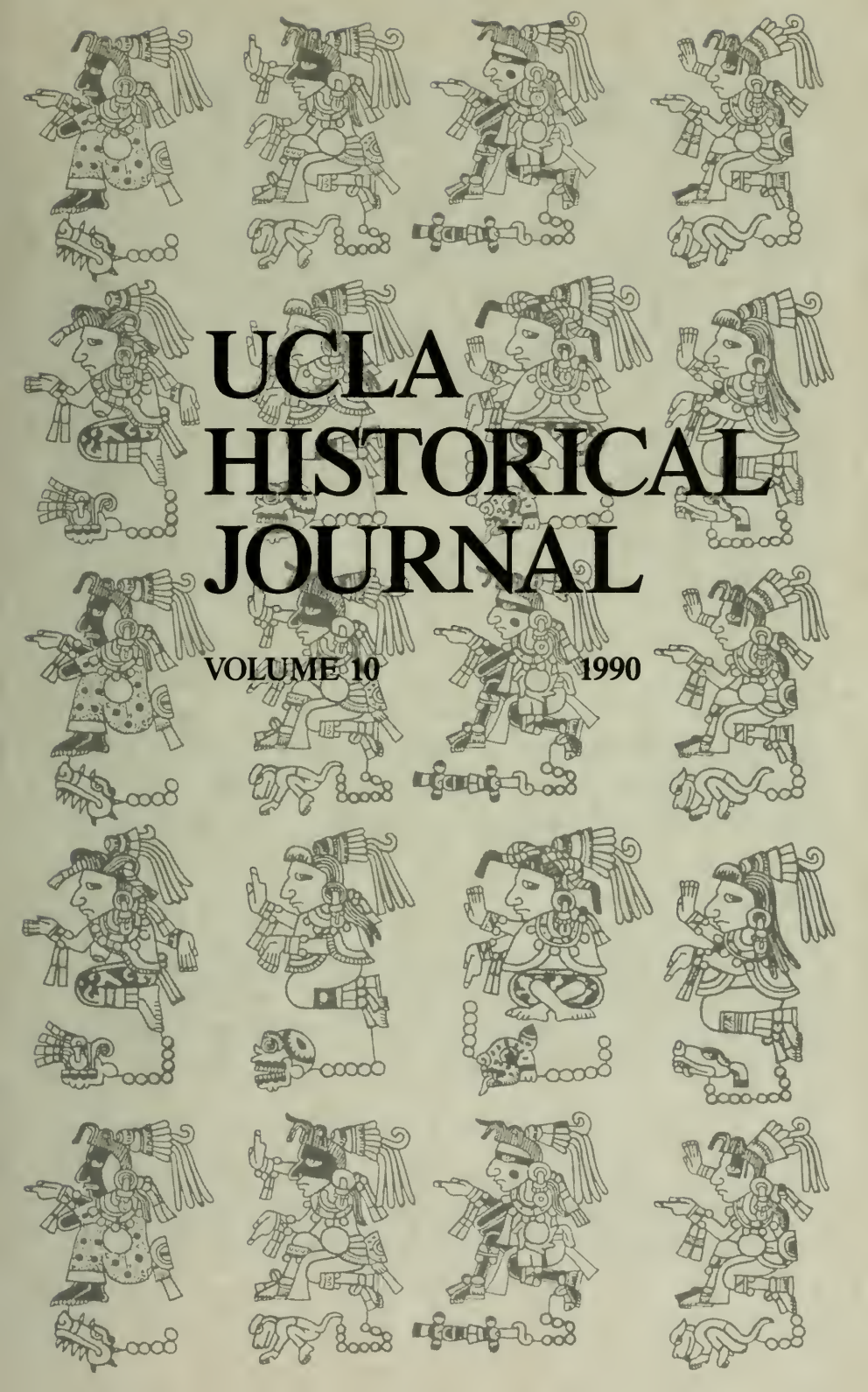

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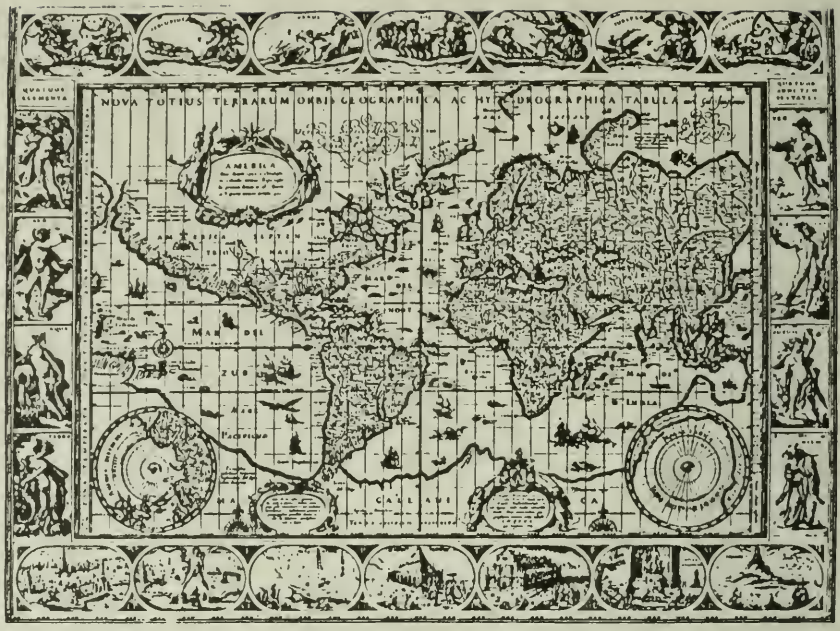

Pl.111 301 (Entry 255) Willem J. Blaeu Amsterdam, 1606. An example of the rare first state lacking the signature of the engraver.

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Acknowledgements

I am pleased and proud to present this tenth issue of the *Historical Journal*. Volume 10 features a fine selection of articles and book reviews and represents the diversity and talent of a new generation of historians.

Congratulations to Clare Spark, this year's recipient of the Theodore Saloutos Award, for her thought-provoking article on, among other things, cold-war perceptions of the communist threat through the use of recently declassified top-secret documents. At the same time, I wish to express our gratitude to Mrs. Florence Saloutos, for her steadfast and generous support. It was admittedly difficult to choose one of the essays for this prestigious award over the others. Bonnie Effros has given us a rare and privileged look at late Roman ideals of a saintly woman. Crister Garrett's essay is a timely review of Marshall Plan historiography and its present relevance, and Niobeh Crowfoot Tsaba has successfully ventured from her field to address the concept of race and racialism in early-modern Europe.

The "Notes and Documents" section in this issue is a forum for editors ineligible for an award, and also for some of the most recent and innovative work in the field of early Latin American history: Matthew Restall continues his promising work in Yucatec Maya, and I have dabbled in two Indian languages from Oaxaca, one of which has apparently never been translated for publication. And, of course, there's the usual assortment of entertaining book reviews.

I want to thank all the editors for their dedication and work in sustaining the *Journal*, and especially Lisa M. Sousa and Robinson Herrera for preparation of the final manuscript. I would also like to show our appreciation to the following friends who have supported us in one capacity or another: Professor Peter Reill, Sandra Turner, Barbara Bernstein, Ruth-Ann Raftery, Karen Knapp, Betty Anderson, Armando Pimentel and Michelle Lew.

The energy and enthusiasm which has ensured the *Journal's* continued excellence can never abate. I trust that next year's editor-in-chief Robinson Herrera will excel in his post, and find the support he needs from his fellow graduate students in History who find value in such a unique forum for expression and creativity as this. Long Live the *Journal*.

Kevin Terraciano

The UCLA Historical Journal

Congratulates

CLARE L. SPARK

Winner of the
THEODORE SALOUTOS AWARD

for her article

" Who's Crazy Now?"
An Essay Dedicated to
Christopher Hill

"Who's Crazy Now?" An Essay Dedicated to Christopher Hill[1]

Clare L. Spark

Cultural studies in academe are now a battle zone, riven by "the Canon Wars"; some scholars in the humanities believe that Western high culture (i.e., "the great tradition" or "the canon") has molded and distorted the consciousness of women and non-whites, forcing them to act against their interests. Such claims have often been tainted as Marxist or Stalinist by their conservative opponents. In this essay I attempt to relocate this dispute outside the academy, arguing that social movements of the 1960s-1980s carried (possibly unconscious) antidemocratic form and content while advocating "empowerment." An undertow of anti-Semitism, irrationalism, and pessimism may have weakened oppositional movements and community mental health. However, today's "Canon Warriors" are not cynical or deluded reactionaries, but are responding to real duplicities in "enlightened" academic culture that may have been misattributed to "modernism" (to the detriment of the project of emancipation and development that these individuals and groups wish to advance).

The essay is divided into two parts: first, I review the achievements and challenge of radical Protestantism, contrasting its left-liberal position with the portraits drawn in competing accounts of modernity, suggesting that many

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New Leftists and organicist Marxists (those who lack a concept of, or belief in the value of the dissenting individual) may be partly in revolt against specters unleashed by counter-Reformation forces. I present a synthesis for antidemocratic propaganda that identifies the critical, scientific spirit, mass literacy and mass politics with radical Protestants and crazy Jews: it is the master narrative that rules the anticommunist unconscious.

Second, I suggest that the upper-class need to contrast American "freedom" with German and Soviet "autocracy" after 1917 has led to the mislabeling of cultural freedom; that is, institutional boundaries circumscribing dissent cannot be limned without exposing the class favoritism of ostensibly "neutral" institutions (the schools, the media, the state) in democratic capitalist societies. To describe constraints upon the critical intellect where none should be subjects the rude unmasker to expulsion; to remain complicit with deceptive institutions creates anxiety. Some intellectuals may flee to the safety and nurture of authoritarian ideologies, while blaming hypocritical promises for emancipation on "Wandering Jewish" modernity, again hewing to the tale of terror. I have found the same double-bind in the Columbia University academic freedom controversy of 1917 and in recently declassified government documents pondering the legitimation and centralization of "psychological warfare" operations during the early 1950s in the face of the "national aversion to propaganda". All the enlightened "representatives" under discussion--promoters of sanity, flexibility, prudence, and Lockean constitutionalism--abjure selfish individualism and coercion, meanwhile practicing mind-management and paternalism, promiscuously merging elite interests with those of their constituents as well as capitalist interests with those of workers and peasants abroad. Academic radicals, to the extent that they participate in organicist formulations of mass culture and national or regional character ("the masses," "the people," "the West"), may know very little about either popular resistance to antidemocratic propaganda or the contradictions within "bourgeois ideology." Constructing the "apocalyptic sublime" style in art and life to represent all popular initiatives, such "radical" intellectuals cannot participate in, nor recognize, self-management. Their searching spotlights should turn inward to examine internalized elitism and fear of the critical spirit.

The Apocalyptic Sublime and its Adversaries

> We are no longer in an age of ignorance, and information is not partially distributed according to the ranks and orders, and functions, and dignities of social life. All learning has an index, and every science its abridgment. I am scarcely able to name any man whom I consider as wholly ignorant. We no longer look for learned authors in the usual place, in the retreats of academic erudition and in the seats of religion. Our peasantry now read *The Rights of Man* on mountains and moors and by the wayside; and shepherds make the analogy between their occupation and that of their governors. Happy indeed, had they been taught no other comparison. Our unsexed female writers now instruct us or confuse us and themselves in the labyrinth of politics, or turn us wild with Gallic frenzy.[2]

As everyone knows, we are at a critical and promising historical moment. The crumbling of "war communism" (as some have termed the "socialist" regimes responding to invasion and civil war after 1917) creates a new opening for left-liberals.[3] Without the specter of Stalinism, cold warriors may be bereft of the indispensable enemy but they, along with Trotskyists,[4] also retain a certain credibility. It would be tragic if progressives did not take this opportunity to rethink the objectives, tactics, and misalliances of social movements since the Russian Revolution. With ever more confident assaults on science emanating from sectors of the academy and the Third World (a sometimes total rejection of Western culture),[5] it is more urgent than ever that we recuperate and protect the achievement of the radical Enlightenment, the still novel and precariously situated idea of the priesthood of all believers. As the great English historian Christopher Hill recently reminded us,[6] it was the revolutionary puritan principle that no intermediary should be inserted between Bible reader and text that undergirded democratic demands. Ordinary people could read scripture for themselves, a notion easily transferred to a broader context. All people had the capacity to grasp and interpret the world, to read social texts, to identify friends and enemies, the better to survive while leading a decent life: We do not rely on

charismatic individuals to do our thinking for us, but demand to see the facts. The Judeo-Christian God that we have chosen requires that we be critical, independent, good, and a lover of the truth; to create the beloved community.[7]

Today, we carry that demand in the democratic aspiration for self-management. We want to participate in the decisions that matter: what is produced, how the work process is organized, what shall be done with the surplus. All other great decisions: whether our children shall die in war, whether women shall control their reproductive processes, how our children shall be educated, the structure of our classrooms, families, the media, and so on, revolve around the question of production and its control; for the people who make these decisions, almost reflexively, measure all challenges from below with the standards: Is this proposal for reform good for Capital or Labor? How can the possessing class absorb dissent without fortifying the majority? How can we make this look like a constitutional democracy, with, as Woodrow Wilson promised, "open covenants for peace, openly arrived at"? How can we prove that the system works? In practice, this has meant that academics are expected to give a plausible rendition of radical social criticism: moral, humane, daring, and efficacious.

Writing in 1942 to the mental health profession, and arguing for a national program of government-sponsored subliminal propaganda and professional discipline of free-speech advocates,[8] the Harvard sociologist and antifascist activist Talcott Parsons understood that the persons who "define the situation" control politics. If I say that an emotionally mature person can make the system work for her/him by joining the appropriate interest group and following correct procedures, then I have foreclosed structural transformation as a sane response to the troubles of individuals. Or, take the contending social theories available in a more "radical" post-1960s social environment. If I say that the primary contradiction in society is male over female, or white over nonwhite, or the state over the individual, or capital over labor, distinctive politics and strategies for change are advanced: each group--feminists, cultural nationalists, libertarians, socialists--promises to liberate its constituency, yet only one radical vision does not look backward to a golden age of matriarchy or splendid empire or unchecked libertinage, but promises to emancipate humanity materially and intellectually. Crucially, the left-liberal position does not call for the end of history or the permanent resolution of the conflict be-

tween the individual and society, but advocates intellectual argument (rational "difference") as the source of health, progress and democracy; the critical spirit is committed to open-ended and revisable versions of the truth and definitions of the good society. The rights of individuals, not the "community" (that vague entity whose "public interest" has heretofore been determined by elites), are paramount. Herman Melville embodied such views in his seeker after truth, Captain Ahab, but Melville is not a team player. It is often a heresy in hip academic circles to say that truth even exists;[9] such are the fruits of "cultural relativism":[10] "history" was an insolent notion advanced by the plebs which had brought miscegenation and decline to Europe, as Michel Foucault, the late French philosopher argued in a rarely quoted passage from his essay *Nietzsche, Genealogy and History*.[11]

The ongoing fights between optimistic and pessimistic world views cannot be understood without reviewing competing historical descriptions of modernity. But first, a definition: The divisions that have elucidated my work are those between left materialists and left organicists. The materialist conception of history holds that people and institutions are changeable; religions, families and states are constructed by people reacting to specific situations, or (as I read Marx), we make our history but not under conditions of our own choosing. We are daunted by the deadening hand of tradition. The Prometheans are both free and constrained, sometimes soaring like eagles, sometimes pecked at. Moreover, the realm of freedom is constantly changing; charting our options requires ongoing incisive critical, historical analysis (and lots of self-scrutiny). We do what we think we can; we are social activists and realists, moral, but not moralistic (not condemning people who are trapped, but proposing to remove the trap through structural reform). We are neither optimistic nor pessimistic, but try to understand the opportunities of the historical moment (which may not be obvious). By contrast, left organicists view human beings as entirely shaped by rules and structures. Not only are we excused from action (because the working class must bring us socialism, in the great unfolding of history), but we can't act; the world is a *fait accompli*. Consequently, the organicists seem to oscillate between optimism and pessimism. If the Soviet Union or the Communist Party or the working class has "failed," they abandon "radical politics."[12]

Compare my radical Protestant/empiricist portrait of

modernity with its competition. First, classical Marxist theory (which many antifascist intellectuals of the 1930s found appealing) envisions the modern world as full of promise. The revolutionary bourgeoisie was a progressive class, developing the productive forces, emancipating humankind from the harshness and terror of nature, bringing science, mass literacy, political equality, and civil liberties in its wake as it asserted itself against the old aristocracy, arguing that merit (not birth) was the standard for leadership. Crucially, industrial capitalism created a new class in its very womb, the exploited workers, who, because of ever worsening capitalist crises, increasing immiseration, their numerical majority, and their capacity to stop production in the factories, would overthrow the owning class and rescue the world from barbarism--and with a minimum of violence, perhaps even using the legal methods institutionalized in advanced bourgeois democracies.

Marxists in the 1930s were careful to distinguish between early and late capitalism, explaining the switch from rationalism to mysticism: ripened capitalism is confronted by socialist parties, movements of workers and intellectuals legitimizing their demands with the language of science and universal reason (the weapon wielded against feudalism by the revolutionary bourgeoisie). The capitalist must return to the psychological terrorism, irrationalism and elitism of the Church and aristocracy in order to brake socialist transformation. The bourgeoisie thus becomes reactionary, fascist, or proto-fascist, resorting to the corporatism of the past *all the while insisting that its opponents are the romantic enemies of Enlightenment.* Drowning in the old idealism, intellectuals allied to the bourgeoisie can no longer describe the system accurately. Science and technology abandon their mission to liberate mankind from toil; industrial development intensifies national rivalries for raw materials and markets. Only the proletariat and its allies bear the legacy of the Enlightenment, specifically the capacity to describe social divisions and to harness the energies of industrialism to create material abundance wherein every individual would have the leisure to develop her or his intellect and creativity. For some, this dream was shattered by the willingness of workers to fight and die for their capitalist rulers in the First World War, but revived in movements for worker's control after 1917 (e.g., worker's councils in the first phase of the Russian Revolution, American Wobblies in 1919; it is the specter that still haunts conservative elites).

But for the romantic conservatives, foes to the "divisive" worker's movements of the nineteenth century, the bourgeoisie was never a progressive class. Deploring the horrors of (Jewish) Mammon and the industrialism it spawned, these thinkers warned against "agitators" such as Charles Kingsley's Crossthwaite (a figure of the proletarian Christ), and deplored the messianic tradition of revolutionary puritanism bequeathed by the Old Testament and taken up by left Romantics.[13] In the 1930s, numerous Christian Socialists were ensconced in Ivy League universities and the publishing industry (thinkers such as Princeton's Willard Thorp or Harvard's F.O. Matthiessen, and whose lineage might also include William Blake, Thomas Carlyle, John Ruskin, Matthew Arnold, the Macmillan brothers, the pre-Raphaelites, William Morris, the Distributists Hilaire Belloc, G.K. Chesterton, and Eric Gill, T.S. Eliot and Aldous Huxley). A similar ideology was carried in the arts and crafts movement, by *volkisch* Germans, and some pro-Soviet American intellectuals (Jay Leyda is one example), some New Leftists, counter-culture adherents, and non-Red sections of the Green movement, following, say, Lewis Mumford.[14] For them, no less than for *The Nation* magazine,[15] or the National Civic Federation, or the Martin Dies Committee, or the postwar Committee for Economic Development, the division that mattered and had to be erased, was inevitable (and rational) class conflict, the devilish idea propagated by bad Jews[16] like Karl Marx, Leon Trotsky, Rosa Luxemberg, and some Freudians. Although it was obvious to nineteenth-century industrial workers that they were wage-slaves with different and opposing interests to the capitalists who owned their tools, counter-revolutionary corporatist elites argued that there was no natural antagonism between labor and capital. Good paternalistic fathers could and would restrain the predatory side of capitalism; enlightened capitalists (the Progressives) saw the value of bringing trade unions into the system, as long as workers were free of the divisive Jewish spirit. The Progressives have used scientific management to impose workplace harmony, co-opting lower class insurgency throughout our century; yesterday in the programs of the New Deal and postwar foreign aid; today in the ideology of pluralism-without-the-left, and in academic programs that reinforce ethnic, racial or gender identity.

The class harmonizing impulses of romantic conservatives, Christian Socialists and Progressives were not malevo-

lent, however, identical fears of conflict have informed the most dangerous tendencies of the twentieth-century. These corporatist utopias were also the intellectual progeny of rebellious aristocrats, viewing with horror the swarming groups unleashed by the revolutionary bourgeoisie: women, workers, non-whites, and Jews. George Mosse has partly described their ideological and political program in the early twentieth century.[17] In the tendency Mosse described, conservative revolutionary social theorists proposed to remove Jewish machines, money interest, and Jewish ideas such as crooked parliamentarism, the internationalism associated with racial mixing and rootlessness, and I would add, the "deplorable individuality" associated with revolutionary puritanism and the Wandering Jew. Everyone would be rooted in small racially homogeneous communities, for racial unity dissolves class antagonisms. Production would return to the guild model, to be led by an elite advanced by merit in this (German) scenario sometimes called "national biological socialism." Although Mosse says that the "romantic" reactionaries were imprisoned, exiled, or murdered by Hitler, *Mein Kampf* transmitted their world view. In Hitler's formulation, the natural harmony, the warm personal bonds that once existed between master and man had been disturbed by absentee capitalists, the Stock Exchange, and demagogues; agitators with an agenda. Good paternalistic fathers urged, just like the old Church fathers, do not trust the evidence of your senses. You,the ever-gullible masses are being duped by Jewish agitators in the pay of Jewish bankers who will impose an unprecedented international tyranny once the old nationalist elites have been overthrown by the workers.[18]

This story of "the Big Lie" still circulates; it is the notorious Protocols of the Elders of Zion, its precursor ("The Rabbi's Speech")[19] manufactured by German, French and Russian conservatives after the Paris Commune of 1871. The Protocols were taken seriously by the London *Times* in 1920, Henry Ford, and of course Hitler and Goebbels; it was the story that historian Norman Cohn named "the warrant for genocide." But this narrative of conspiracy, false utopia, and catastrophe was no fresh invention: it evoked the myths of Icarus and Narcissus, staples of antidemocratic propaganda since democracy and the people reared their snake-like heads in ancient Greece, especially powerful after the scientific revolution of the seventeenth century and the unremitting heresies that followed. The message was simple: Against the

messianism of the Old Testament which called for universal truth and justice (a message taken to legitimize the democratic aspirations of the many right here on earth),[20] the masters warned, Put down that Book! Do not over-reach; "know thyself" means know thy limitations. Curb thy ambition. Virtue lies in subordination to authority. Let thy betters define social reality. Free thought unravels the social fabric to bring anarchy and chaos; then comes a tyrant who will restore order, but not the permanently debilitated social organism. Free thought is thus a recipe for decline and fall, not the emancipation promised by cynical demagogues. In his monumental summation of classic American literature, *American Renaissance* (1941), Harvard's F.O. Matthiessen warned against Captain Ahab's lust for power, quoting his challenge to Starbuck (the first mate on the ill-fated *Pequod*), "Who's over me?" and urged progressive academics to rescue America from such disastrous links to the "savagery" of the Hebrew prophets; however, the organicist Matthiessen excised the words that followed "Who's over me?" The missing sentence, "Truth hath no confines" linked the materialist Ahab's search for truth to equality and democracy, not authoritarianism. Melville's critical spirit was not hubristic (as Matthiessen had charged), but agonizing, as Melville and his other revolutionary puritan characters contemplated "the endless winding way" of critical thought, and the threat to conservative order that such new freedom implied.[21]

Truth Hath its Confines

With this introduction to the competing views of materialists and organicists, we may understand how contemporary institutions can make us crazy; how our "liberal" families, schools and media put their inhabitants in "double-binds." The double-bind should not be confused with the dispensing of mixed messages such as love/hate, or the mixture of good and bad in our moral behavior, rather it results from the misnaming of experience; there is a lack of correspondence between the word and the reality it purports to describe. In Herman Melville's view (*Pierre*, 1852), the double-bind follows the simultaneous demand for both truth and order, intellectual independence and loyalty to corporate welfare; the pretense that there is no necessary conflict between these values leads to the confusion of safety and danger. Protecting an image of her liberality, "mother" will turn on and expel the child who delivers an accurate portrait of fam-

ily relations; a dangerously divided (some would say schizophrenic) consciousness is produced in those who do *not* recognize institutional duplicity. In the 1950s and '60s, the double-bind was described by Gregory Bateson and R.D. Laing as a problem in the family attributed to the bad mother unchecked by the good father;[22] her coldness and ambivalence (the alternations between clinging and rejection) made her sons crazy. She did not really love her child; but if he did not take her false love for true, she would really give him a hard time. If he accepted her false love as true, he was really crazy. Dr. Michael Goldstein, a UCLA psychologist, has told me (without irony) that double-bind theory is passé, because "it can't be measured."

While it is true that the detailed reconstruction of family relations is a demanding task (as any historian will agree), I do not believe that such efforts are terminally distorted by "subjectivity," as Dr. Goldstein's reply suggests; rather, double-bind theory is all too instructive when applied to the university and other free-but-stabilizing institutions. In scientific, innovating societies like our own, unbounded independence of thought is required to create new, more competitive technologies, but free thought is carefully (and subtly) circumscribed; the humanities and social sciences are strongholds of reaction and counter-Enlightenment, generally oblivious to the social relations they misdescribe and reproduce in the classroom. My point is made concrete in the following incident, a purge at Columbia University which has not been adequately described or analyzed by previous scholars.[23] Here the double-bind is the misnaming of circumscribed thought as free thought, the misnaming of academic slavery as academic freedom by "moderate" conservatives--the corporatist liberals.

In October 1917, Columbia University was the site of a tumultuous academic freedom controversy. For weeks there were mass meetings, petitions, threats of strikes and rumors of campus revolt after two professors associated with the antiwar movement had been summarily dismissed by Columbia President Nicholas Murray Butler acting under pressure from conservative faculty, alumni, and trustees. The rebellious professors, experimental psychologist James McKeen Cattell and Comparative Literature professor Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Dana, were viewed as poisons or cancers, sneakily attacking the organism of harmoniously cooperating administration, faculty and students. Their alleged crime was opposition to the draft, which they considered a betrayal by

Woodrow Wilson, elected on a peace platform (however, according to *The Columbia Spectator,* Cattell feared that the Conscription Act would arouse disorder and revolution).[24]

The Columbia faculty responses would be paradigmatic for critical intellectuals at bay. Clearly there was a conflict between truth and order, independence and loyalty. The impromptu firings of Cattell and Dana revealed that professors were not like aristocrats, nobly free and frank, but slaves, with no more power over their activities in and out of the classroom than workers in "a badly run factory," said John Dewey.[25] The popular political scientist Charles Beard and the economist Henry R. Mussey resigned in protest (while a Jewish student protester, Leon Samson, was expelled and reportedly excluded from law schools). Beard complained bitterly about continued trustee interference with the teaching of political science; the reputation of the value-free university and the integrity of his own pro-war position were at stake. But conservative alumni and students did not agree. The university was not a breeding-ground for soap-box agitators like Dana, Cattell and Samson, but a school for gentlemen, who would aristocratically submerge their personal desires for the good of the whole, in this case the state of those who profited from an alliance with England and France.

These two alternatives were at least rational. They recognized the conflict and made their sacrifices (a job, academic freedom) accordingly. But there were two mad corporatist alternatives; these persist today and push politics toward dementia and schizophrenia. One group, "Members of the Committee on Instruction of the Schools of Mines, Engineering, and Chemistry," did not see any conflict between truth and order if Columbia students were properly administered: Yes, Cattell and Dana should be removed to protect Columbia's reputation, but "We are also anxious that our students shall be surrounded by those influences which while encouraging vigorous independent thought, at the same time develop unquestioned loyalty to our country," i.e., you could make science classless and good for upper-class Protestants if you encircled the brood and got them loaded.[26] The other strategy was to reform Butler; yes, distraught professors[27] said, the cancers had been well excised, but needlessly repressive practices were to blame. Responsible corporatist thinking would restore the normally harmonious university; rationally cooperating faculty and administrators would prevent another uprising and bring closure to this awful aberration. The corporatist liberal position is utopian

because, for instance, it does not recognize that "greedy" capitalists do not pick and choose their strategies on the basis of morality or even long-term expediency; they are coerced by market forces, by abstract and impersonal social property relations. These corporatist liberals (like those in protest movements based in the petit-bourgeoisie, such as populism and fascism) wanted capitalism without tears. They could not countenance the perception that authority in late capitalist society might be inevitably and uncontrollably abusive, nor could they have bonded with the lower orders: both alternatives made them too Jewishly divisive, parricidal and poor. (I think Beard, a Progressive, not a Marxist, resigned to protect the fantasy of the neutral university.)

What am I suggesting about our current political culture and its methods for legitimizing itself and proclaiming its superiority to proposed democratic alternatives? Scientists (including social scientists) need free thought to invigorate their productions. If these "originals" are dependent on conservative institutions they will be motivated to discover techniques which do not threaten the authority of their masters. Let us contrast a discreet (solid) truth with a reckless (cracked) antithesis. Journalists working in a "free press" will boldly "muckrake," thereby postulating the existence of genuinely liberal Good Fathers to correct the irrationality of "mass culture" and the false Prometheans it disgorges; the muckrakers implicitly bring back the moderate men of the vital center to restore "balance"; criticism which suggests that "balance" is impossible in class divided societies is un-American and unscientific. Here, then, is the source of the double-bind: the science bequeathed by the puritan revolutionaries brought permanent turmoil to the bourgeois democracies (delightful or terrifying, depending on one's intellectual and moral allegiances). Ordinary people reading the texts (of the Bible or of society), could compare official readings with their own. Their representatives in republican governments would have to prove their loyalty to the voters by accurately depicting their records and the system they served. But as class divisions intensified in late capitalism, politicians and other leaders could not serve two masters. Some materialists (the people who trusted the evidence of their senses as the starting point for thought) said structures must change: economic and political democracy should coincide. The idealists (mystical corporatist liberals) said there was only one master--the community; with socially responsible capitalism, the people and capital would

grow together.[28] These "moderates," I have argued, perpetuate the double bind and use symbols of terror (e.g., the wasteland-making Jewish cosmopolitan,[29] the fifth column/cancer within), to discourage would-be "extremists."

But does the Terror work? Radical thinkers undermine mental health to the extent that they join with organicist thinkers to view "the masses" as easily molded and swindled. Assuming "hegemony" and relying on the fact of concentrated ownership in the media (a fact tied to consumerism), leads to political despair. We must not forgo "old-fashioned" but still revolutionary empirical investigation into the complex intertwining of emotions, perceptions, and material forces (including the repression of critical thought in authoritarian families) that comprises human motivation and action as they are manifested in particular individuals.[30] In the remainder of this essay, I examine the discourse of "enlightened" policy makers, some of whose whitewashed versions of themselves may have discredited "modernity" in the eyes of today's postmodernists and Canon Warriors. Here too we shall see materialists and organicists debating the efficacy of mind-management to predict, control, and evaluate human behavior. Examination of some early 1950s formulations of "the Soviet threat" reveals no obsessions with troops and tropes, but rather some sophisticated analyses of the revolutionary potential of indigenous (but Communist-controlled) labor movements in France and Italy during the postwar economic crisis; an hysterical response to Soviet publications unmasking hypocrisies in U.S. information programs; and the ongoing fear of Marxism's appeal in "defining the situation" of poor people around the globe. Given their commitment to democratic capitalism, terror in the service of natural harmony and/or incoherence would be the only recourse of moderate men steering the ship of state.

Uncharted Waters

> [*The New York Times*, 1951]: The Psychological Strategy Board is a new, incomplete team with nothing less than a world of ideas to explore. It has also made a start at stockpiling plans for defeating the big lie with the hard fact...[On the sources of Soviet strength, according to Joseph Stalin]:the main force is the Soviet Union with its huge standing armies; the direct reserves are the satel-

> lites, colonial revolutionaries and the "world proletariat" that has been infiltrated by indigenous Communist parties; and the indirect reserves are the conflicts that Soviet psychological warfare can breed among free countries, and the internal conflicts it can develop between capitalism [sic] and labor.[31]

> [C.D. Jackson, 1952]: What it adds up to is that God has decided to take out a brodie on the American people. Also, we are now faced with the first real enemy of this country. This one is really implacable against us--so we are stuck with the American people and their enemy. Query: Do we want to do something about it?[32]

The Psychological Strategy Board (a controversial, but relatively unstudied group operating from 1951-1953, after which its functions were assumed by the US Information Agency and the Operations Coordinating Board),[33] was a part of the National Security Council; it consisted of the Undersecretary of State, the Deputy Director of Defense, the Director of the CIA, plus representatives of both non-member and member agencies. PSB was our common Brain, keeping the body politic on its toes; it was

> the nerve-center for strategic psychological operations. At the apex of government, it provides a single office for assuring the planned use by all governmental units of activities to influence the opinions, attitudes, emotions and behavior of foreign groups in ways that will support the achievement of our approved national aims. Through the Board, the President is enabled to turn to one body, instead of many, for a prompt assessment of psychological operations--as to magnitude, emphasis, pace, effectiveness, and responsibility for execution. Thus a unified base is afforded from which to take from an enemy the initiative in "psychological operations."[34]

Nevertheless, some strategists thought PSB was too weak. In December, 1951, *The New York Times* carried a

sensational six-part series of articles clearly designed to build public support for an agency of soaring mind-managers (a "powerful, independent propaganda board, making policy and carrying it out") to substitute for the "compromise board" that had been established earlier that year as the PSB.[35] The second article, "Soviet Hate Drive Makes U.S. Target," announced that Lenin's birthday (January 21, 1951) had marked a dramatic turn in Soviet tactics: Peter Pospelov, "the leading theoretician of the Soviet Communist Party" had abandoned his previous policy of denouncing capitalism and promoting peaceful co-existence; Pospelov had "switched" to "a virulent campaign of hate against American people themselves"; Pospelov wanted to "stab at the increasing strength of United States leadership in the free world." Now Americans were "blood-stained imperialists"; moreover, Communism would prevail in "the final phase" of struggle. Pospelov claimed to have discovered new evidence that Lenin always viewed land-grabbing Americans as a menace to Russians; under his direction thirteen new books appeared, documenting atrocities and "tailored geographically to arouse local [Soviet] fears of U.S. hostility." Such fake scholarship was clearly part of an "unremitting drive to create a world of Communist proletariats dominated by Moscow."[36]

The *Times* acknowledged that PSB designs were controversial amongst psychologists and within the government, but managed to turn defenselessness into its opposite. The raging arguments over the Voice of America, symbol manipulation and the apparent national disunity such debates reflected could be, in the hands of experts, proof of the confrontation with hard fact in an open society: "Skillful psychological handling of this normal phenomenon of American life would depict it as an element of strength, demonstrating the freedom of expression that Washington is trying to propagate." However, the *Times* did not support the Truman administration's "nobly conceived" Campaign of Truth (which it concluded was too frail to take back the symbols of democracy and peace from the Soviets). In the same article that insisted "we use truth," that orderly Congressional checks and balances would prevent the propagandizing of the American people or narrow expressions of Executive Branch interest, the *Times* writer (commenting on recent criticisms of the Voice of America), chortled over U.S. successes in deploying duplicitous black and grey propaganda in Eastern Europe:

> Americans are matching the fanaticism and

> ruthlessness of their Communist antagonists with cool native ingenuity in this underworld of the ideological struggle, but Russian agents seldom have got any clue that it is Americans who are beating them.[37]

In its last gasp, the *Times* series reconciled its readers to both amorality and vagueness:

> The job of making propaganda out of truth is no less complex than the Soviet Union's in propagating the big lie...Officials can give no easy definition for describing either what propaganda or the propagandists should be. But the result they would like is to inspire in free men the zeal to fight as ruthlessly to keep their freedom as their fanatic Communist opponents fight to destroy it.[38]

In other words, the victory of irrationalism and covert operations would not undermine "freedom of expression"--as long as the rationalists had an occasional opportunity to complain. The lurid, hysterical tone of the *Times* articles suggests high-level disagreements over the place of unreason in a democratic society. In a declassified Top Secret report irritably summarizing interagency "bickerings" in the history of psychological warfare since 1945, Edward P. Lilly blamed the people, complaining that Americans had not continued George Creel's operations after World War I, again rushing to "hectic liquidation" of the OSS, the OWI, etc. after 1945. It would not be easy to get [the hysterical narcissists] to sponsor ongoing propaganda and assume the responsibilities of world leadership:

> America desired to be left alone to amass wealth in the Twenties and to concentrate on its domestic depression and recovery programs during the Thirties. While domestic information facilities increased, especially radio broadcasting, and America became the most news-conscious people, they remained basically indifferent to world developments. The widespread acceptance of the economic interpretation of history and of life, together with the revisionist histories of World War I,

> caused the average American to view wars as profit and persuasion: bankers and munitions makers reaped the profit and plied their fellow citizens and world opinion with appealing propaganda to increase their gains. Unaware that they were being propagandized, Americans became isolationist and comcomitantly developed a phobia against the very word "propaganda" as a horrid, sinister word, a really un-American word and activity....Psychological warfare was an intangible concept whose value and effectiveness was practically a matter of faith. Since it was considered "un-American," its inability to prove its worth was embarrassing.[39]

Lilly's report (like the *Times'* articles) suggests that Americans were more incorrigibly positivistic and irreverent (and may still be) than the mind-managers would have preferred--at least that is how they were perceived by their public servants. But just as striking as Lilly's disgust is his distance from "America" or "the people," while at the same time he, like other strategists, conflates their interests. The Symbolists who ran (or advised) the Psychological Strategy Board were, in their view, not putting one over on the American people or foreign nationals; they were not cynically lying about Soviet capabilities and intentions after the war, nor, apparently, were they in agreement as to objectives, methods or the effectiveness of their procedures;[40] rather they were conservative liberals unwilling or unable to live with the consequences of "difference"--like Progressive parents putting their children into double-binds: "Do grow up and be your own person, but don't diverge from my values, objectives, methods, and analysis (i.e., "democratic pluralism" minus class analysis), or I'll really reject you."[41] Refusal to admit "common ground" would be deemed self-indulgent; recalcitrant feelings were "targets"; yet mind-management was anathema to a concept of enlightened Americanism that placed benevolent foreign policy and rational self-criticism at the center of its national identity. As C.D. Jackson, publisher of *Fortune* and wartime Deputy Chief of Psychological Warfare Division in SHAEF, told a few of his radiant fellow citizens at an "off the record" meeting at the Princeton Inn, May 10-11, 1952,

> ...we never can nor want to operate as a mono-

> lith, via thought-control, etc. which the Russians can do, want to do, and do do. We are a mosaic. A mosaic does no good when the pieces are all over the floor, but bound together in a pattern that is useful and beautiful.
>
> Within the last few weeks I have been involved in various discussions with the [Mutual Security Agency], particularly the support program part of it. There was a big do in Washington on Point Four, conversations with the Ford, Carnegie and Rockefeller Foundations, on their activities around the world and in India, and how these things could tie in with programs on the [Voice of America]. But somehow it doesn't all come together as something that must be proclaimed as a central American theme, and made simple and clear and beneficially potent to the people who are enslaved and looking for liberation, and also beneficially potent to us.
>
> For a mosaic to come together, I am not promoting a super PSB, but somehow or other we must be smart enough to pull these things together--adding the White House, adding the State Department, adding centers of American radiation around the world, adding our organization, adding Valentine's organization [Radio Free Asia], adding Kirk's organization, so a symphonic theme can be played which will be heard and enjoyed by the people of the world and our people. (pp.20-21)

[Jerome?] Wiesner followed this Wagnerian crescendo with a chilling and deflating comment, evaluating what wasn't there. "Aren't there really two problems: 1. We are not doing a very good job of political warfare for our aims. 2. We don't know what are [sic] aims really are."

To summarize the Wilsonian project and dilemma: Elite strategists trying to win the cold war (and forced to explain repressive legislation and the treatment of the Rosenbergs) at times seemed to envy the Soviets' centralized organization and unproblematic mission which was to invent an image of Soviet society promoting "land-reform, peace, anti-imperialism, youth"[42] threatened by American warmongering. By contrast, highly moral American pro-

pagandists had to tell the truth and create unity (where there was no national consensus on the objectives of U.S. foreign policy), employing symbols (modeled on Wilson's Fourteen Points) that were too vague to persuade fact-loving democrats. The strategists at Princeton felt that the free world of the West, must, without provoking war, liberate the enslaved masses of the East; as C.D. Jackson phrased it, getting at "the minds of men," "we are trying to win World War III without having to fight it. It is going to be the neatest trick of the week if we can pull it off (p.110)." Traditional Progressive policies were proposed. Seeking agreement on the American posture vis-a-vis Germany, Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union (Rostow, p.50), the corporatist liberals distinguished themselves from hot-tempered militarist and/or isolationist opponents in Congress. Frank Altschul suggested a dramatic move to polish America's image; in the light of catastrophic new weapons and the threat of a world conflagration, the USSR should be re-approached, urged to disarm, and offered "a world-wide gigantic Marshall Plan," which they would of course again reject (pp.66-67). However, in the statement which the Princeton liberals hammered out, neither bribery nor chivalrous rescue operations were explicitly proposed, but enlightened internationalism all around. Setting itself against the inevitable war preached by Lenin and Stalin (p.66), the American message transmitted to Iron Curtain countries would clearly advocate: the release of military expenditures for the development of resources; the creation of a European community which would enfold a reunited Germany; a Soviet Union with the same relationship to the European community as that enjoyed by the U.S.; and the reiteration of American identity as anti-imperialistic (p.92). If diplomats could only get past the militaristic fanatics (as Joseph Grew insisted the U.S. should have done with the Japanese before the war, p.79), surely peaceful statesmen could "grill into them" kindly American intentions.

Psychological strategists also had plans for the non-aligned countries alive with anticolonial sentiments. Over and over the Wilsonian liberals exhorted each other: freedom-loving, peace-loving America must not impose its will on the smaller or weaker nations, but discover their objectives, then help them in ways that linked their improved public health and productivity to democratic capitalism (the Western way).[43] Eschewing satellites,[44] "we" would adjust their aims to our purposes.[45] That is, Progressive elites would co-

opt, not antagonize or neglect the "seething" anticolonial poor, thus to drive them into the arms of the lurking Soviet octopus. American planners would study the belief-systems of other countries, sending students, doctors, anthropologists and good labor union representatives abroad. The mission was chummy but self-critical; for many, it was still the Campaign of Truth, reverberant with "Baptist fervor." One evangelist was particularly skilled in comparative anatomy, physics, geography, domestic science, and mental hygiene. In this memorandum from Yale professor Frederick Barghoorn, a hat is tipped to permanent revolution while false prophets are exposed; a certain reticence remains:

> Despite the enormous differences between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, they share one important attribute which distinguishes them from almost all other states in the world. Both are power-generating units and both have surplus power to export. From the point of view of psychological operations, perhaps the main difference between these two centers is that Moscow is an allegedly revolutionary center but is actually afraid to practice what it preaches and for this reason is forced to isolate itself from foreign influences, while the U.S., although unfortunately in the minds of many as "reactionary" does not fear the free exchange of ideas. In between these two poles lies much of the world. To a very large extent, the in-between world is the object rather than the subject of political and cultural influences. It is because of this very fact that the citizens, and particularly the intellectuals, of this in-between world are so touchy and sensitive. This fact must be kept constantly in mind in order to prevent tactless errors.
> ...our national policy is based upon utilizing the strong and healthy parts of the free world as the basis upon which to build a political offensive against Soviet totalitarianism. In other words, we must begin by setting our own house in order and proceed outside....our over-all objective is to preserve the peace without sacrificing the values which we regard as even more important than peace...one

> world, in some form or another with a consensus regarding at least certain common procedures, and probably certain common values, must be our ultimate if not always explicit over-all objective....[46]

However, the "in-between world" probably lay between the poles of unresolved U.S. foreign policy. As George Morgan wrote to his colleague Mallory Browne at the PSB, shortly after the Princeton Meeting of May 1952,

> The dilemma between passive co-existence and destruction of the Kremlin is somewhat oversimplified since the policy of NC 20/4 and related papers actually falls somewhere in between. In any case it may prove impossible for some time for the United States to make a wise final decision between such alternatives, and meanwhile the resulting contrast between peaceful and war-like aspects of our policy may turn out to be something that we just have to live with.[47]

Like Professor Barghoorn, Arthur O. Cox of the PSB Office of Coordination would have made the whole world home-like by taking phony Marxists to task; but unlike patient George Morgan, Cox felt that the problem was immediately manageable. Explaining the purpose of PSB to its new director, Raymond B. Allen (former President of the University of Washington which had recently purged two Communist professors), Cox called for "political action on both an overt and covert basis." We were competing with the deployment of "the Utopian theories and words of Karl Marx" which had been disingenuously "used as the key for entering governments and men's minds to enable the ["Kremlin-controlled"] political apparatus to take power."[48] Negotiations, collective security, dollar diplomacy, containment, NATO's defensive shield, had all been tried to no avail: We too had been taken in by Kremlin "Agitprop" and were out of tropes.

> We have been losing this battle for men's minds because we have not yet harnessed our great strength and energy in an all out offensive to throw back Kremlin-controlled

> Communism, back to its seat of power--the Politburo. Our enemy is *not* Marxism. Our enemy is *not* any economic or political theory. Our enemy is *not* the Red Army--the majority of the Red Army are potential friends of the United States. Our enemy is *not* Yugoslav Communism. Our enemy is *not* the Russian people--just ten percent of them. Our enemy *is* the fanatical conspiratorial Communist apparatus run by the Politburo for the ultimate purpose of world conquest.
>
> For almost five years now we have been frightened, running helter skelter in every direction giving the Politburo one victory after another because we have not isolated our enemy, and as a result have permitted the Kremlin to successfully generate the impression that we hate all Russians, all Slavs, and even all people who are revolting from the control of imperialism. The Politburo has successfully created the myth of two camps--the philosophy of black and white--the peace-loving Communist democracies versus the imperialist-warmongering capitalists. And we have unwittingly fallen into their trap by accepting a reverse philosophy of the free world against the slave world--the democratic peoples against the totalitarian peoples. We have permitted ourselves to think in terms of two camps--of geographical areas. This has been a grave and tragic error. *Our only enemy in this cold war is a maximum of 25 [?] million organized, militant members of the Communist Party spread throughout the world who take their orders from the Kremlin.*

Slowly it has dawned on the American people that something should be done; the PSB is our promising toddler:

> There has been a growing body of thought, most of it fairly unsophisticated and inarticulate, in Washington and throughout the country that in this cold war our government needed something akin to a democratic

> Agitprop in foreign affairs. As a result, the Psychological Strategy Board has emerged. To follow the analogy, the NSC might correspond to the Politburo and the PSB to the Agitprop, assuming of course the major difference that they dictate to the people and we are servants of the people...It is the first groping step forward in the United States Government to bring together a group of people specifically assigned to plan psychological strategy for the cold war.

Cox explains that the Russians have confused freedom with slavery, ideology with politics, which we, quiet servants of the people, instruments of their will, blessedly unbeset by the will to power, do not. After the necessary cleansing, our temporary expedient will surely wither away--unlike that of [the Elders of Zion, Mother]:

> ...As I see it, PSB should be considered a temporary phenomenon, a momentary product of the cold war. If it weren't for the existence of the Kremlin-controlled Communist Party, we wouldn't be in existence and shouldn't be. Traditional agencies should be doing the job. The men in the Kremlin have achieved their power by identifying the Utopian economic ideas of Karl Marx with ruthless, totalitarian political organization. The greatest psychological hoax ever perpetrated on mankind. The original revolution was genuine and so was the original Lenin. But soon Lenin discovered that the idea wouldn't work, but it did permit him to remain in power. Stalin had time to analyze Lenin's discovery and has been perfecting it ever since as the instrument of his personal power. The ideas of Marx have great emotional appeal to the downtrodden or the Platonic idealists, and particularly to the people of underdeveloped areas. These ideas are the entering wedge of the Communist Party--once the Party penetrates and achieves political power the Ministers of Interior and the security police do the rest--always with a token bow to Karl Marx and the withering away of the state....[49]

In the following excerpts from the seventeenth meeting of the PSB, January 15, 1953, the toddler continues to arouse a Top Secret mixture of skepticism and delirious self-congratulation among government officials. Will the exact evaluation of psychological operations continue to elude the experts, or have inheritors of Renaissance exploration and boundlessness conquered the nothingness that followed the death of God?

> [Under Secretary of State David A. Bruce]: [We at the State Department] continue to be wary of attempting to measure with the existing dubious criteria the effectiveness of a given psychological function in situations in which many other forces, economic, political, and military are at work.
>
> ....
>
> [Admiral Alan G. Kirk (USN Retired), Director of PSB]: [We do get] a reasonable presentation of what has actually happened....The technique of evaluating these efforts in this field of psychological strategy, psychological warfare, that technique is being developed slowly for many reasons because it is something that no one has yet set down criteria on. That is on evaluation. I think some of the earlier steps may have been faltering but I think if we don't try these things, at least have a go at it, we'll never develop any technique whatsoever.
>
> [William C. Foster, Deputy Secretary of Defense]: [Commends the Board and notes there has been "some retracing of steps" but] I hope that out of it, as it grows, will come a really well directed psychological effort on the part of the United States which can be very useful in the cold war in which we are engaged. [Averell Harriman and Bruce concur.]
>
> [General Walter Bedell Smith, Director of the CIA]: [This is] a completely uncharted field.
>
> [William C. Foster]: Uncharted waters and no

one knows the depth of the waters, and yet I think we have made some progress toward something.

[General Smith]: The thing is when people take a look at this at least they have something to look at, not a void.

[Averell Harriman, the Mutual Security Agency]: I have been watching this sort of thing since during the war in relation to Russia and the advance of government thinking in the last ten years is really fantastic.

[General Smith]: When we first became associated, Averell, if you talked to anybody in the government about psychological warfare they'd have looked at you with an absolutely blank expression, wouldn't know what the hell you were talking about. At least we've got some idea.

[Averell Harriman]: And the knowledge of what the people think.

[Brigadier General Millard C. Young of the Joint Chiefs of Staff]: There's been one rather unfortunate note I have to bring to your attention. The wing commander of the 581st was shot down Monday night near the Yalu River and that is our first air force casualty of note.

[William C. Foster]: I'm sorry to hear that.

[General Young]: John K. Arnold Jr., shot down about 11 o'clock at night in a B29. According to reports his B29 but a crew other than himself [sic!] of an outfit that was over there in Japan on TDY from March Field. We don't quite know how that happened.

[General Smith]: You don't know what mission he was on?

[General Young]: The report is a leaflet mis-

> sion but had other implications too. [They go off the record.][50]

Although the language of open-ended experimentation was constantly mobilized, PSB "psychological operations" weren't always rational. Had the Cold Warriors been faithful to the radical Enlightenment they would not have confused "the people" with themselves, nor worried about "tactless errors" nor resorted to a "not always explicit over-all objective" and covert action, while simultaneously trumpeting America's ever-revolutionary identity and fidelity to "the free exchange of ideas." They could have factually described capitalism (early and late) and its competition, Soviet communism. The internal debates, the achievements and limitations of both societies could have been described, including the dynamics of development; how struggles between the inheritors of the radical and conservative enlightenment had shaped and constrained institutions in every "modern" society; how no society had educated everyone for democratic participation in group structures which constantly challenged authority, and which insisted on an accurate description (however provisional) of itself and its relationships, so that people could know what they were supporting and why. But the political Symbolists were repelled from such sane alternatives; as class actors in late capitalism they were expected to redefine healthful Americanism as non-Jewish and non-radical Protestant. Accordingly they purveyed pseudo-Enlightenment. Moreover, they were not speaking to ordinary people, but to notable counterparts in other societies. They beckoned potentially Progressive rulers to reform now and avert a bloody massacre; they addressed other notables for whom the very concept of the dissenting individual was lost in the woozy discourse of organicism--a discourse transmitting delectable fantasies of total control/hysterical cravings for total submission.

CONCLUSIONS

The "democratic pluralism" promoted after both World Wars fostered only interest group politics;[51] the class politics which attempted to advance the cause of cultural freedom for everyone were proscribed. Conflicts between truth and order, independence and loyalty which surfaced in the Columbia University academic freedom controversy of 1917 pervaded democratic institutions throughout this century; the bizarre

corporatist solution advocated by members of the Columbia applied sciences faculty would be the medicine of choice in Progressive circles. Such corporatism transmitted pre-capitalist views of the malleable, easily excitable lower orders, an assumption which did not require testing through empirical investigation. Moreover, the mind-body split in idealist thinking lent itself to the fantasy that psychological warriors mobilizing cultural symbols *could* isolate decisive emotional factors in order to target and influence people to act against their perceived interests. Here may be the relevant context for current disputes over the teaching of Western high culture in the schools and media. Many Canon Warriors (including some Marxists) seem worried that women and nonwhites are molded by a hostile culture; perhaps their conservative opponents feel that incorporating the literature and history of the lower orders will not merely devalue the humanities or that high culture will suffer by juxtaposition, but that Western liberal ideas are not strong enough to maintain their hold on students. This last suggestion follows from the material I have presented: Conservatives have appropriated the liberal language of the Enlightenment; what is truly feared may not be competing artists, "political correctness," or "nihilism," but the decoding of language and images which so many contemporary insurgents have undertaken, and which will continue to expose double-binds and a disregard for civil liberties in ostensibly enlightened institutions (including those of the Left).

The Canon Warriors should reconsider their hostile image of "the West" (an ahistoric, organicist category) but at the same time critical intellectuals should specify the misuses of "enlightened" social science during this century. Only a critical history, built upon the firm foundation of Enlightenment universalism, egalitarianism, and demystification (the uncompleted project of radical Protestantism), can challenge and overcome the sociopathy of the twentieth century. Amidst the rubble, surely it is possible to make a different *diferance*:[52] to piece together the texts of past and present, to produce a coherent narrative, to be in the world, but not of it.[53]

NOTES

1. Originally a sermon delivered to the First Unitarian Church, Los Angeles, California, January 21, 1990, revised for publication.
2. T.J. Mathias, *Pursuits of Literature*, 1797, quoted in Lois Whitney, *Primitivism and the Idea of Progress in English Popular Literature of the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Octagon, 1973), p.5.

3. For a recent intellectual history and reappraisal of European Marxism see Stephen Eric Bronner, *Socialism Unbound* (Routledge, 1990). Bronner sees the heritage of classical Marxism as radical liberal, voluntaristic, and experimental.
4. See Mick Cox, "The Cold War as System," *Critique 17* (1986), 17-82, for a useful Trotskyist review of the debates and a long bibliography. Cox thinks anti-communist liberals and New Leftists misconceived the Soviet threat and were ideologically attached to Stalinism; he argues that both the West and the Soviets used the Cold War to bring stability to declining or failing systems; the "Other" disciplined labor in each society.
5. See Tzvetan Todorov, "Race, Writing and Culture," in Henry Louis Gates, ed., *Race, Writing and Difference* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 370-380. Todorov makes many of the points of this essay in his critique of the other essays in the volume, however, he has no explanation for the scandalous lack of attention to anti-Semitism (p. 377). The Todorov essay is viewed as a theft of newly-won self-esteem, in Toni Morrison, "Unspeakable Things Unspoken: The Afro-American Presence in American Literature," *Michigan Quarterly* (Winter 1989), p. 3. For Morrison, Western culture is inseparable from racism; 19th century whiteness was a crazy-making ideology; Herman Melville's purpose in *Moby Dick* was to attack "white male"-ness through Ahab's assault on the whale (15-16). Of course, the character of "the West" is the major dispute in cultural studies today; for a recent account of the Canon Wars, see Scott Heller, "Colleges Becoming Havens of 'Political Correctness' Some Scholars Say," Chronicle of Higher Education, Nov. 21, 1990.
6. At a UCLA Colloquium "Democratic Ideas in Seventeenth-Century England."
7. This position can be caricatured as "narcissism" by conservatives; see, for instance, George Sandys', *Ovid's Metamorphosis Englished* (New York: Garland Press, 1976) 106; from Sandys' 1632 to today, the warning is directed against the empiricism and materialism of rising groups which lead to self-love, eroding the paternalist ethos and therefore generating catastrophic revolts from below.
8. Talcott Parsons, "Propaganda and Social Control," *Psychiatry*, Volume 5, #4. Liberal-rational professors were advised that "defining the situation," not the direct indoctrination of attitudes, was the task of elites promoting orderly progress against revolutionaries, debunkers, and cynics. Students and others who believed that free speech should be a part of the pattern of their lives would be disciplined in the psychiatrist's office. The antifascist activist Parsons was bringing closure to the Enlightenment.
9. Idealists and materialists are arguing about one major "truth": Do ordinary people have the capacity to manage their lives? Since the nineteenth century the conflict has centered around two key questions: 1. Class collaboration or class conflict, i.e., is there or is there not an irreconcilable contradiction between capital and labor? All tactics flow from this determination. 2. What is the role of the intellectuals? Are groups to have authoritarian or democratic leadership? Franz Mehring's discussion of hostile idealist critiques (1895) focused solely on the confusion of materialism and sensuality, see "Concerning Historical Materialism," *The New International*, June 1941, 120-126. For the political implications of idealism, pragmatism, and the concept of mass culture, see Robert A. Nye, *The Origins of Crowd Psychology: Gustave LeBon and the Crisis of Mass Democracy in the Third Republic* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1975).
10. For an important turning point in academic history, see Carolyn F. Ware,

The Cultural Approach to History, edited for the American Historical Association (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940), 3-16. The methods and concepts of cultural anthropology would correct the elitist biases of "scientific history" while keeping readers out of trouble: "...[The cultural historian may not] rest upon the prescription of the scientific historians to let the facts speak and to be guided wherever the material may lead...." (p.9) The concept of the protestant individual, "in the world, but not of it" disappears in the concept of "personality" or "individual-in-society" as formulated by cultural anthropologists and social psychologists; we are shaped by "culture," and in turn produce it (see the Introductory Note). However, the primacy of the shaping function of culture makes voluntarism impossible.

11. The Foucault passages are found in *The Foucault Reader*, ed. Paul Rabinow (N.Y.: Pantheon, 1984), 91,92. Professor Jack Solomon brought them to the attention of scholars at a UCLA Conference on critical theory in 1986. Similar views have been extant since Plato; see an important formulation in Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (N.Y.: Macmillan, 1922), the first chapter for the social theory of what some would later dub "postmodernism"; Lippmann's authorities include Plato, William James, and Jung; his enemies are Marx and Freud; his ruling idea that reality is ever too complex to grasp (except for the "political scientist" who must intervene before authority is decentralized, i.e., before the befuddled stereotype-ridden majority makes disastrous political decisions). Today such counter-Enlightenment views are ensconced (and contested) in cultural studies, but did not burst upon the scene with Lippmann or Foucault. The now forgotten left-liberal social psychologist Ellis Freeman summarized organicist thinking since Plato in *Conquering The Man in the Street: A Psychological Analysis of Propaganda in War, Fascism, and Politics* (New York: Vanguard Press, 1940), a work which irritated Harold Lasswell because it did not equate fascism and communism.

12. See Richard Crossman, ed., *The God That Failed* (N.Y.: Harper, 1949). 4, pp. 10-11. The "despair" that led "profoundly Christian" or individualistic antifascist intellectuals into Communism was "hysterical"; those who joined the Party will never recover "a whole personality." See also Alan Wald, *The New York Intellectuals: The Rise and Decline of the Anti-Stalinist Left from the 1930s to the 1980s* (Chapel Hill: U. of North Carolina Press, 1987), 369, 372. Wald rightly criticizes the way former leftist intellectuals used the notion of "independent critical [thought]" to hide their complicity with Cold Warriors after the war; however he attributes an absolutism to the idea of autonomy that is foreign to the views of scientists: "An axiom of Marxism, as well as of all other materialist philosophies, holds that total autonomy from the social institutions that shape lives and consciousness is a delusion, a myth that serves the ideological function of preserving the simulacrum of "free will" while sustaining the dominant institutions, social relations, and culture of the existing society" (369). This view, while sensibly examining the power of structures and the Cold War tactic of repressive tolerance, also makes it difficult, if not impossible to stand outside the system to describe and evaluate relationships between leaders and the led. Wald wants both partisan commitment and objectivity; moreover, Marxist intellectuals should be both internationalist and take "the standpoint of the oppressed groups in society" (373); but what if "the oppressed" are rigorously anti-modern, localist and authoritarian?

13. A founding document of Christian Socialism was Kingsley's *Alton Locke*,

tailor and poet, published anonymously in 1850, as the testament of a repentant Chartist.

14. This connection has been denied by leading figures in American Studies; see Gerald Graff, *Professing Literature: An Institutional History* (University of Chicago Press, 1987), who argues that there was once an attempt to impose the romantic nationalist idea of organic unity (i.e., white male hegemony); New Leftists have remedied this situation by celebrating the diversity and incoherence that was always there. Leo Marx insisted on the connection between F.O. Matthiessen's generation and the New Left at the November 4, 1990 meeting of the American Studies Association. The Marxist writers of *Partisan Review* characterized Lewis Mumford, Waldo Frank, etc. as antifascist fascists, opposed to "critical intelligence;" see Dwight McDonald, "War and the Intellectuals II," *PR,* Spring 1939, 3-20, and James Burnham's review of Louis Hacker's *The Triumph of American Capitalism, PR,* Nov-Dec 1940, 479.

15. See the editorial, Feb.8, 1919, urging its conservative readers to move sharply leftward to meet the challenge of disillusioned, therefore proto-Red Wilsonians.

16. See Rabbi Lee J. Levinger, *Anti-Semitism in the United States: Its History and Causes* (New York: Bloch, 1925) for a classic conservative pluralist statement directed to recent Jewish immigrants and proscribing European formulations of class struggle ("Fascismo" versus "Socialism"). For the moderate Levinger, artists and scientists were tragic misfits; groups not individuals were possessed of "individuality." *Cf.* the recent novel of the East German author Stefan Heym, *The Wandering Jew* (1983); Heym named his radical Wandering Jew Ahab.

17. George L. Mosse, *Germans and Jews; the Right, the Left, and the search for a "Third Force" in pre-Nazi Germany* (N.Y.: Howard Fertig, 1970).

18. Numerous writers submerge this narrative with the observation that Germans were irrational to confuse capitalist and communist Jews, for instance, J.P. Stern, *Hitler: The Fuhrer and the People* (Berkeley: U.C. Press, 1975), who writes "...Hitler's public...readily accepts the peculiar logic of Hitler's anti-Semitism, according to which, without a word of explanation, 'international financial interests' are seen as not being at odds with 'Bolshevization' but identical with it." (p.80) Also see Arno Mayer, *Why Did The Heavens Not Darken? The Final Solution in History,* (N.Y.: Pantheon, 1988), 92; in addition to causing the Versailles Treaty, revolutions and bolshevism, Jews were denounced "...as the mainstay of parasitic capitalism and the masterminds of the modernist subversion of classical culture."

19. This was a pamphlet adapted from Herman Goedsche's *Biarritz* (1868), in which rich Jews are shown to be plotting against the oppressed masses of Europe. "Making a show of zeal for the social question of the moment," they are planting free thought and skepticism only to destroy religion, meanwhile monopolizing media and controlling public opinion. Jews will enslave the proletariat to money, thus they will rise at (Jewish) will; the outcome will be world domination as Abraham was promised by God. Translated and discussed in Norman Cohn, *Warrant for Genocide; the myth of the Jewish world-conspiracy and the Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1967), 36-40, 269-274.

20. Father Mapple's sermon in *Moby-Dick* argues for the higher law; it could only refer to the moral necessity for abolitionism, a position undermined by

Melville's father-in-law Lemuel Shaw, Chief Justice of Massachusetts, who had just upheld the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, polarizing Boston.

21. *American Renaissance, Art and Expression in the Age of Emerson and Whitman* (N.Y.: Oxford U. P., 1941), xv, 448, 466, 474, 475, 477. These matters are explored in my doctoral dissertation on the Melville revival, 1919-1991. Melville's most explicit description of the double-bind is found in *Pierre, or the Ambiguities* (1852), one of the most controversial works in American literature.

22. Carlos E. Sluzki and Donald C. Ransom, ed., *Double Bind: The Foundation of the Communicational Approach to the Family* (New York: Grune & Stratton, 1976), 11. Conducive to schizophrenia is "the absence of anyone in the family, such as a strong and insightful father, who can intervene in the relationship between the mother and child and support the child in the face of the contradictions involved."

23. My sources were easily accessible documents (including newspaper clippings, faculty reports and letters to Nicholas Murray Butler, letters of resignation, etc.) in "Miscellaneous correspondence relating to the dismissal of Cattell and Dana" in the Columbia University Manuscripts Division, Butler Library, quoted with the permission of Columbia University, and the *Columbia Spectator* (October 1-31, 1917). The lengthiest account of the Columbia purge is found in Carol Gruber, *Mars and Minerva: World War I and the Uses of the Higher Learning in America* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State U.P.), 187-206.

24. *Columbia Spectator*, Oct. 4, 1917, p.2. Cattell, while calling for community control of private universities, denouncing "academic slavery" and applauding the prospect of socialism, also admired elitists. See *An Education in Psychology: James McKeen Cattell's Journal and Letters from Germany and England, 1880-1888*, ed. Michael M. Sokal (Cambridge: M.I.T. Press), 303. In *University Control* (N.Y.: Science Press, 1913), Cattell wanted rationalizing, bureaucratic businessmen to cease interfering with faculty matters. However, as a signer of antifascist petitions in the 1930s, he was identified by the Martin Dies committee as a left-wing subversive in the HUAC report of 1944.

25. *New York Evening Post*, Oct. 9, 1917.

26. Compare the language of George W. Dithredge of the International Steel Car Company in his letter to Butler, September 14, 1917: "With the example of Scott Nearing and his progressive descent to the dogs, Columbia cannot afford to cast the mantle of protective charity over a man [Cattell] so clearly unfit to exercise any influence over our young men, who above learning and technique must be saturated by precept and example with the principles and spirit of good citizenship."

27. The file contains an unsigned report (apparently from the Committee of Nine, a HUAC-type body organized to inquire into the penetrations of left-wing scholarship from which John Dewey resigned after the Dana firing), and a letter to Butler from the faculties of Political Science, Philosophy, and Pure Sciences. The Committee of Nine report is almost hysterical in tone; both documents sought corporatist remedies.

28. On the precedent in Tudor Humanism, see Lawrence Stone, *The Causes of the English Revolution 1529-1642* (N.Y.: Harper Torchbook, 1972), 86-87.

29. In one meeting of the secretive Psychological Strategy Board, 3/27/52 (see below on the PSB), Colonel Paul Davis presented the Mid-East as a cauldron of "social revolution." Modernism would be corrosive to the social systems of

conservative Arab societies. Israel was feared as "a very modern dynamic expansionist State which is creating tensions throughout the area." See *Declassified Documents Catalog: 1988* (Woodbridge CT, Reading England, Research Publications), #001760. This source lists and numbers declassified documents (grouped according to the government agency from which they originated), which may then be read on microfiche. Future citations will be abbreviated as *DDC*.

30. See Herbert Schiller, *Culture Inc.; the corporate takeover of public expression* (N.Y.: Oxford U.P., 1989), and numerous other media critics, including Noam Chomsky and Michael Parenti.

31. Anthony Leviero, "U.S. Challenges The Soviet In Battle for Men's Minds," *New York Times,* Dec.10, 1951, pp.1,24; and "Soviet Hate Drive Makes U.S. Target," p.14.

32. Transcript of Princeton Inn Meeting, 1952, an informal gathering organized by C.D. Jackson, attended by government officials and "citizens expert" in psychological warfare, "to clarify and clean up morals and frustrations of the people in this country," and to advise the newly organized Psychological Strategy Board and the President on the need for clear political objectives in Eastern Europe, so that Radio Free Europe, the Voice of America, etc. could advise specific, government-approved actions to the people they had riled up against the USSR. See *DDC:1988*,#001164; #001165 contains Lewis Galantiere's summary of the meeting.

Cf. Les K. Adler and Thomas G. Patterson, "Red Fascism: The Merger of Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia in the American Image of Totalitarianism, 1930s-1950s," *American Historical Review* (April 1970), 1046-1064, which criticizes the mistaken conflation of Nazis and Soviets as the foundation of Cold War culture.

33. See Roland I. Perusse, "Psychological Warfare Reappraised," *A Psychological Warfare Casebook,* ed. William E. Daugherty and Morris Janowitz (Baltimore: Operations Research Office, Johns Hopkins Press, 1958), 25-35. Perusse's account of the short-lived PSB (with some bibliography of press responses) defends the objectivity and fairness of the program, agreeing with W.H. Jackson that terms such as "psychological warfare" and "cold war" gave a false impression of U.S. intentions; however, there will always be a need for such functions: "It is the duty of persons cognizant of psychological factors to keep diplomats, political and military officers, economic experts, and others who have dealings with foreign peoples and foreign governments informed of the climate of and changes in public opinion in foreign countries and to let such persons know of the probable public reaction to policies contemplated. In this way, many moves that could cause resentment can be avoided, or if they must be taken, regardless of probable adverse public opinion, because of the overriding other factors, the psychological specialist, if we want to call him that, can offer suggestions as to how effects may be mitigated or cushioned. Such a specialist also has a duty to come up with suggestions for actions that will create favorable public reaction abroad (33-34)."

See also William E. Daugherty, "Personnel Qualifications For Psychological Warfare," 157-184; quoting Dan Lerner: "...(3) A systematic "policy conception" of the propaganda process, requires constant awareness that the purpose of sykewar is to use the target's hopes, fears and wishes (in addition to one's own) in manipulating symbols to achieve policy purposes. (4) A

systematic conception of the psychocultural process opinion-formation, which constantly involves awareness that sykewar operates within a vast environment. Any element of the environment is capable of affecting the attitude-structure of any target. The skill required of the propagandist is the ability to discover the decisive affective elements in a given target and how to manipulate them (p.160)." Cf. Perusse's statement that since C.D. Jackson's resignation as Presidential advisor on psychological warfare, April 1, 1954, "psychological factors are no longer considered in isolation and superior to other elements in foreign policy formulation and execution but are considered a vital and integral part of every action (p.32)."

34. "Role of Psychological Strategy Board under 4/4/51 Presidential Directive," *DDC: 1990*, #002961. Cf. Charles Bohlen's remark at the Princeton Meeting, p.103: Disagreeing with the premise that psychological (interchangeable with political) warfare was a novel development of the PSB, responding to recent Soviet initiatives, "...we have been waging [political warfare] since 1946. A lot has been going on"; adding that the U.S. has had the initiative since 1947. Perhaps in contrast, Allen Dulles earlier remarked that the PSB was a development which "I personally welcome tremendously" (p.82). According to the Lilly report (see below), the State Department had consistently opposed an independent psychological warfare agency, causing delays in the appearance of the PSB.

35. *NYT*, Dec.10, 1951, p.24.

36. Pospelov was pictured seated at his desk in front of a map of Europe, *NYT*, Dec.11, 1951, p.14.

37. A. Leviero, "Terror a Weapon in U.S. Propaganda; "Voice" tolls doom in store for blacklist of oppressors behind the Iron Curtain," *NYT*, December 12, 1951, p.14

38. "Truth Held Weak in Fight on Soviet," *NYT*, December 15, 1951, p.3

39. "Development of American Psychological Operations, 1945-1951," 12/19/51, *DDC: 1988*, #001742, pp.6,15. See also "Background Notes on the Psychological Strategy Board," Dec.27, 1951, *DDC: 1990*, #002964.

40. See Matthew A. Evangelista, "Stalin's Postwar Army Reappraised," *International Security*, Winter 1983/1983, 110-138; this and other revisions agreeable to the upper-class peace movement tend to make the presence or absence of a Soviet military threat the decisive factor of the cold war. For opposing views on the objective character of the Soviet threat in the mid 1940s, see Andrew Cockburn, *The Threat: Inside the Soviet Military Machine* (N.Y.: Random House, 1983), 23, and *The Changing Western Analysis of the Soviet Threat*, ed. Carl-Christoph Schweitzer (London: Pinter Press, 1990), 62. Cockburn's contention that U.S. intelligence was entirely irrational is not borne out by the records I have examined, nor is his reductive thesis that "The official overview has remained unchanged since the early Cold War era when President Truman declared: "The Soviet Union and its colonial satellites are maintaining armed forces of great size and strength in both Europe and Asia. Their vast armies pose a constant threat to world peace." Schweitzer writes, "...the main threat was perceived to be 'local aggressive actions', by means of direct or indirect intimidation or 'political warfare'. This was to be the general pattern for all of Washington's threat analyses."

See also Daniel Yergin, *Shattered Peace; The Origins of the Cold War and the National Security State* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1977). Yergin dichotomizes U.S. policy as torn between the Riga axioms (USSR is an "immediate military

threat") and Yalta axioms (USSR is a great power responding to conventional diplomacy). But the Cold War (including the reorganization of covert operations) intensified after the victory of Communist China, the explosion of the Soviet atomic bomb, Soviet criticisms of U.S. foreign and domestic actions (imperialism, racism), and failure of the CIA to predict the invasion of South Korea, not in response to military strength in 1945-48. Cf. NSC 20/4, "U.S. Objectives with Respect to the USSR to Counter Soviet Threats to U.S. Security," in Gaddis, op.cit., 203-211. It was the political, not the military conquest of Europe by the Soviet Union that was specified.

A mixture of military, political and ideological factors are described in CIA document, "Political Alignments and Major Psychological Warfare Vulnerabilities in the Event of War Before July 1951," January 23, 1951, *DDC: 1988*, #003534; its claims are echoed in the Leviero *NYT* articles, Dec.10-15, 1951. See also Lilly Report, op.cit., pp.30-90 for details of U.S. ideological campaigns to counter political developments in Western Europe, including the creation of the Cominform (the hostile Soviet response to the Marshall Plan which misrepresented the "independence" of Communist parties).

One PSB document, a memorandum from Admiral L. Stephens, suggests that U.S. planners lacked a clear concept of domestic security based on the legitimacy of democratic capitalism; security could only be grounded in some defensive but hostile action toward Soviets. See *DDC: 1988*, #003550, "Method of Approach to a Strategic Psychological Plan," Oct.31, 1951: "Our accepted policy and aim is to retract and reduce Soviet power and influence to limits which no longer constitute a threat to U.S. security. A clear statement of what those limits might be would be very helpful in the formulation of a general strategic plan. Some think that the threat can be removed only if the hold of the Bolshevik power over the USSR and its satellites is broken. Others think that the exercise of Soviet power and influence against U.S. security can be made so unprofitable that the threat will cease to be a genuine one. In the latter case, there are differences of opinion on the concrete circumstances under which this situation would be attained...It is easy to deal in generalities, but to my mind, the difficulty of transforming generalities into concrete action is one of the major defects of our present effort...." See his article in *The Threat of Soviet Imperialism*, ed. C. Grove Haines, (John Hopkins Press, 1954).

41. See "Memo to Mr. Cutler from Bill Korns. Subject: Psychological Strategy in the Ensuing Years," *DDC: 1988*, #003536. Korns distances himself from the Right, denying that the phrase "common cause" is to be conflated with the "holy crusade": "The idea, if not the actual phrase, of a "holy crusade" is already being propagated by Henry Luce among others. Not only is this drive overwhelmingly anti-Communist rather than pro-freedom. It is also America First as opposed to United Nations, Common Cause, or Free World. It is the "our way or else" approach." Cf. Eisenhower's directive stating the mission of the USIA, including "Depicting imaginatively the correlation between US policies and the legitimate aspirations of other peoples of the world." (Perusse, pp.31-32) Also, for the distinction between universalists and promoters of diversity, see John L. Gaddis, "The Strategy of Containment," in *Containment: Documents on American Policy and Strategy 1945-1950*, ed. Thomas H. Etzold and John Lewis Gaddis (Columbia U.P., 1978), 25-37.

42. Jackson Report, "Propaganda and Information Activities in the Free World," n.d., *DDC:1988*, #001163, p. 6. This report, the result of five months of inter-

views, is partly excerpted in Perusse, op.cit. pp.30-31; the report was ordered by Eisenhower in early 1953; chaired by W.H. Jackson (a New York attorney, ex-deputy director of the CIA, and a foe to "discrimination"), it employed C.D. Jackson (Eisenhower's "personal advisor on psychological warfare,"p.30) and was said to be instrumental in dissolving PSB, thus changing the image of sykewar from the offensively manipulative to the neutrality of "information"; nothing should interfere with the concept of common ground and voluntary association with U.S. objectives. Portions are quoted below.

43. See especially Top Secret Memorandum to William Korns from Ned Nordness, Office of Information, Mutual Security Agency, Oct.18, 1952, *DDC:1990,* #002970, one of the few documents to give concrete examples of methods and locales. "MSA Information is devoting the major part of its energy and attention to publicizing programs, campaigns and projects and to see that the benefits received by some are appreciated by more. The line taken here should be not one of gloating and self-satisfaction....It is a major directive in MSA Information to give as much credit as possible to pro-Western elements in and out of Government for improvements and benefits brought about by American aid." Commenting on the success of mobile units staffed by locals in "seething" Southeast Asia, Nordness wrote, "It is important in our opinion that locals should bear as much of the psychological warfare as possible. This tends to increase pride among the recipients, to give the operation more hometown appeal and generate more confidence."--a pattern for American information agencies.

Nordness understood very well that Americans were in a bind regarding anti-colonial social movements; if they ignored them, World Communism would win; if they supported the insurgents, they could antagonize the rulers of the West who supported the rule of capital in America. He suggested that Americans risk offending her capitalist allies, but simultaneously groom pro-Western leadership (in which individuality would reside in global capitalism): "It is, of course, through enlightened programs and positions of their own [that] the Western powers and ruling classes of Asia made themselves individuals. The Asian Revolution can therefore work Western influence on the upheaval and realistic possibility which in turn would help solve the dilemma for the U.S. [sic]." That is, only the merging we associate with corporatism and fascism can resolve the double-bind.

44. See Jackson Committee Report, #001163, op.cit. The report begins with an expression of alarm: "Extreme statements made by Americans, often for domestic effect, are prominently displayed abroad and can create serious doubt as to the maturity, stability, and constancy of purpose of the United States." To be effective, propaganda "must be dependable, convincing and truthful. In particular situations, propaganda, overt or covert, may play a role of decisive importance in the attainment of specific goals, but too much or too blatant propaganda can be harmful." Solidarity was found in these shared values: "belief in God, belief in individual and national freedoms [etc.] ... Sharing such beliefs, the United States has partners and allies abroad, not subservient allies held by force."

45. See Memo from Charles Norberg to John Sherman, May 19, 1952, *DDC: 1989*, #000533: speaking of the Middle East, Norberg wrote, "it might perhaps be appropriate from time to time to define our objectives in the first instance in terms of the psychological objectives of the indigenous populations and then to

determine how we can best achieve those objectives." Did Norberg intend to support socialist transformation? Compare his statement to C.D. Jackson's complaint in a report of a Luxemburg meeting, 1953: American labor union representatives have been actually strengthening the labor movement in France and Italy. Washington should do something because they are undermining unification of the non-Communist trade union movement! #001168, Top Secret.
46. "Memo for Colonel Philbin; Schedule of Priorities for psychological warfare," Oct. 22, 1951, *DDC:1990,* #002962. See a related document for an example of tactful diplomacy and Progressive uplift all around: White House Memo (2), "To Mallory Browne from Wallace Irwin, Jr. Subject: Potential Role of Wealthy Individuals in Foreign Countries." *DDC: 1988*, #003546: "...it seems possible that such projects would foster better relations between classes in the countries involved, and give wealthy individuals a vested interest in the cause of social improvement outside of and against Communist revolutionary fronts. Progress would be made in this way toward filling a psychological and political vacuum which is now open to exploitation by nationalist demagogues and ultimately by Communists."
47. May 26, 1952, *DDC:1988*, #000534. Morgan believed that indigenous conditions (not Soviet anti-American propaganda) were responsible for the "misgivings about the American military effort" in Western Europe and England.
48. Memorandum to Dr. Allen, 3/25/52. *DDC: 1990,* #002967, p.1.
49. #002967, ibid., pp.2-3. Cf. statements in an FBI report on CPUSA activities, July1-December 31, 1952. Describing a handbook "The Role of the Working Class," this operative makes Marx and Engels master puppeteers and experimental scientists: "This handbook states that the role of the working class is decisive in the struggle against war and Fascism not because it is numerically larger than any other group but because Marx and Engels decided that the working class would be the best group to put their theories into practice." *DDC: 1988*, #00965.

The CPUSA educational material quoted in the FBI report on "Communist Front Schools" (#000970) suggests that the double-bind was perpetuated in American Communist institutions. Avram Landy (1938), writing in *The Communist* described the Party as teacher: "the entire work of the Party rests on the recognition that its own activity, far from being a substitute for the struggle of the masses, must help the masses in this struggle to learn from their own experiences, to draw the necessary conclusions from their own mistakes and to see the next steps required by the struggle." But what if the conclusions of "the masses" (note the individuality given to the millions) were in disagreement with the official positions of the CP (also speaking with one voice)? What does "help" mean? Similarly, the Jefferson School of Social Science (in an evaluation of its work 1944-1950), while holding that the CP was the organizational embodiment of Marxist-Leninist theory and practice; that the Soviet Union was the leading force of peace, democracy, and socialism; that"instruction should reflect C.P. policy"; and that the United Front was the "main tactic of the democratic camp in the US"; also found it unproblematic to explain that "Ours is not the routine job of purveying pre-conceived bodies of subject matter, even "Marxist subject matter"; rather, ours is the creative task of teaching people, of bringing theoretical understanding to thousands of the most important individuals in America, of helping to develop effective leaders of the working-class movement--upon which rests our confidence in a progressive future." (Quoting the 1954 catalog):

"Its students are encouraged to think for themselves and to reach their own reasoned conclusions."

50 *DDC: 1990,* #002971. The document was Top Secret and was extensively sanitized.

51. Cf. the Italian Fascist *Sindicati* where "classes and trade unions are recognized as representatives of various interests and economic activities which merge into the one State." In L. Minio-Paluello, *Education in Fascist Italy* (New York: Oxford U.P., 1946), 125, 128.

52. I refer to "diferance," Jacques Derrida's widely quoted term which asserts the elusiveness of final meanings in language; also the "difference" celebrated by promoters of cultural diversity, and which may express either good boundaries, appreciation and toleration, or more ominously, grounds for disunity and violent conflict.

53. Cf. the co-option of the Old Testament in a PSB memorandum, 2/15/52, "Mobilization of Spiritual, Religious, and Moral Factors in Psychological Strategy," with participants Herbert Agar and Mallory Browne, in which the puritan doctrine of the higher law is transformed into its opposite: state worship. Browne proposed that a Free World Conference (aimed at "actual or potential legislators" of the Middle East and Asia) should be organized to promote the "spiritual idea" that "law is the basis of all freedom." "It was agreed that the one field where the Russians can not claim to monopolize all that is good is precisely in the spiritual and religious field. In other words, they have gotten away to a large extent with perverting "peace" to their own uses, but they can not pose as spiritual leaders; they can not claim to be the true prophets of law, and we must not let them steal our thunder there. The same is true, of course, with freedom itself." *DDC: 1990,* #002965, also #002966, "Exploitation of Basic Moral and Social Forces." God-like tasks included "the identification of exploitable moral and social forces with emphasis on emergent, little-known, or neglected ones" and "development of a global psychological strategy plan establishing national objectives and broad courses of action with regard to the exploitation of moral and social forces." So much for left-wing over-reachers. At the Princeton Meeting, 5/10-11/52, Lang deified America: "What *I* would hope to get out of this meeting is the shaping in Atlantic Charter fashion of some statement of moral principles which cannot be pinned down, but as a result of which the people look to one country for their salvation and as the champion of liberty and freedom." (#001164, p.102)

Images of Sanctity: Contrasting Descriptions of Radegund by Venantius Fortunatus and Gregory of Tours

Bonnie Effros

The type of imagery utilized by Gregory of Tours (c.540 - 594) and Venantius Fortunatus (c.530 - c.610) makes evident their contrasting attitudes towards sanctity, stemming from their education and consequently their goals in writing. Both late Roman authors were intimately acquainted with Saint Radegund of Poitiers (518-587); their description of her provides a common ground on which to compare the two writers' use of holy imagery.[1] The small but growing gap between what one might consider late antique and early medieval attitudes is reinforced by drawing attention to the specific differences in these two mens' definitions and descriptions of sanctity, or in other words, their ability to accomplish what Peter Brown terms: "the emotional feat of turning the *summum malum* of physical death into that into which all that is beautiful and refined in the life of their age can be condensed."[2] Fortunatus portrays Radegund more traditionally as holy primarily as a result of a God-given gift of a very personal brand of self-humbling piety, linked to the efficacy of her private ascetic devotions as well as her activities as a worker of miracles.[3] In contrast, Gregory consistently identifies the source and affirmation of Radegund's piety as her acquisition of the Holy Cross for her convent, pointing to his confidence in the growing centrality of relics in the public lives of devout Christians.[4]

Indeed Gregory's and Fortunatus's depiction of Radegund has been in part shaped by their choice of literary

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genre. Fortunatus's references to Radegund occur in her *vita*, as well as in the poems he dedicates to Radegund and the abbess Agnes. As a result of the detailed and expressive nature of these literary forms, one senses immediately the intimate relationship between poet and subject. Fortunatus devotes prolonged attention to even the most private aspects of her life. In assessing the veracity of his treatment, however, one must recognize that a *vita* requires the repetition of certain *topoi* appropriate to the life of a leading abbess and geared to the needs of an audience, as it might be read publicly on the saint's day.[5] Thus rather than pointing to inaccuracies in Fortunatus's work, which stem from his depiction of her solely as an ascetic and miracle-worker, Sabine Gaebe instead suggests that one should focus on the details themselves which Fortunatus employs to instruct the faithful.[6] Jacques Fontaine indeed proposes that Fortunatus models his account of Radegund closely on Sulpicius Severus's *Life* of Saint Martin, a logical choice as the text wielded much influence and served as a prototype for the Merovingian concept of sanctity.[7] Moreover, Fortunatus draws no link in Radegund's *Vita* between the saint and the Holy Cross. Thus, while Fortunatus has relative flexibility in terms of degree of historical accuracy and the number of exemplars from which he may formulate Radegund's *Vita*, the imagery itself is part of a longstanding hagiographical tradition. Similarly, the second genre selected by Fortunatus, his numerous poems which recite the praises of his benefactress Radegund, give him the opportunity, for instance, to employ late antique imagery of virginity in her portrayal. Free from the constraints of the *vita*, in which he chose to portray her solely as an ascetic and a worker of miracles, here he may describe his benefactress and her association with powerful symbols of sanctity.[8]

In contrast, Gregory's references to Radegund occur primarily in brief notices in the ten books of his *History of the Franks*, as well as in his hagiographical works the *Glory of the Confessors* and the *Glory of the Martyrs*. With the exception of Gregory's account of the uprising at Poitiers (589) and two miraculous visions, the passages referring to Radegund's lifetime in his *History* are largely terse and confined to a minimum number of details. Gregory appears to indicate that other more mundane aspects of the life of the former queen and monastic foundress have little interest for him. Walter Goffart attributes Gregory's lopsided approach to an, "inverted rationalism [which] appears to have been his

derivation of meaning from random unpredictable events, perceived by his own and audience's senses."[9] To be certain, the scope of Gregory's historical text does not permit him the freedom to elaborate extensively on any one subject. Gregory nevertheless devotes a disproportionate amount of space to the uprising of the convent of the Holy Cross at Poitiers two years following Radegund's death; it represents more time than he concedes to all other aspects of her life. Clearly, his *History*, which typically focuses on the scandalous and the miraculous is not devoid of bias in its choice of imagery in describing Radegund.

In contrast to his historical work, the rich detail of the funeral of Radegund in Gregory's *Glory of the Confessors* and descriptions of the power of Radegund's fragment of the Holy Cross in *Glory of the Martyrs*, convey a more intimate and lasting image of the elements of Radegund's sanctity. In these hagiographical and miraculous accounts, Gregory exercises greater latitude in choosing how he wishes to portray Radegund's holiness. Free from the constraints of narrating contemporary events with some sense of chronology, historical accuracy and purpose, as required in his *History*, Gregory proves himself willing to create in Radegund a powerful point of reference to the holy by portraying her impact particularly on religious women.[10] By emphasizing the power of Radegund's holiness, as justified by her acquisition of a portion of the Cross, Gregory points to the growing status of relics as intercessors in Merovingian Gaul. By linking Radegund closely with the the Holy Cross rather than an ascetic lifestyle, Gregory demonstrates that the saint herself is worthy of veneration by his Christian audience after her death.

Thus, while comparing these two descriptions of Radegund's sanctity, inherent stylistic differences determine to some extent the content of each man's account of Radegund. Yet a study of the nature of the imagery of the holy also thrives on the conscious selection by authors of modes of communication. The various degrees of freedom accorded to both Fortunatus and Gregory in their choice of style of composition directly reflect their educational background and the basis for sanctity which they are accustomed to conveying. Fortunatus, the product of a classical education at Ravenna, shows himself devoted to a late antique portrayal of the personal achievements of Radegund, as opposed to Gregory's loyalty to his more limited and local religious training, as well as to the Merovingian obsession with relics

and their ability to provide access to the heavenly sphere. Rather than the corresponding accuracy of each author's depiction of Radegund, what remain important are the inherent differences between the two authors' portrayal of the holy woman and how that may enhance our understanding of sanctity in the sixth century. Despite the many disparities between the two authors and their texts, the works of Gregory and Fortunatus both recognize the sanctity of their subject and the importance of glorifying her example.

* * *

Fortunatus and Gregory know Radegund personally only after her entrance into the cloister, and both are well acquainted with her convent of the Holy Cross. Indeed Fortunatus, following his classical education in the schools of Ravenna, arrives eventually at Poitiers after a stay of approximately two years at the Austrasian court circa 566 and then Tours.[11] Fortunatus states in a poem that he remains at Poitiers at Radegund's insistence; they develop a close relationship in which Radegund and the abbess Agnes provide the poet with their gifts and prayers in exchange for his assistance as a sort of secretary and representative in temporal matters.[12] Some have called into question the nature of this interchange as inappropriate for women of a religious house under Caesaria's *Rule*, and find the lavish feasts provided by the nuns for Fortunatus as inconsistent with especially Radegund's apparent asceticism.[13] Sabine Gaebe instead interprets her role here as a royal patroness; despite Fortunatus's penchant for writing flattering poetry about his benefactors, Radegund must fulfill her obligations as a former queen.[14] Fortunatus clearly gains satisfaction from his close to twenty years of friendship with the religious women Radegund and Agnes; his consistent and prolific composition of poems in their praise indicates the depth of their mutual admiration. Yet perhaps their close association may also be understood as not only an element of the early Merovingian aristocratic cloister, but also a result of Fortunatus's desire to establish himself as a humble pupil or disciple of a woman whom he deems to be so holy. Not only does the poet address Radegund as his spiritual mother, but he indicates that her intercession and the prayers of the nuns earn him celestial favor.[15]

Soon after the saint's death, Fortunatus writes his account of her life, devoting the bulk of his narrative to the

ascetic nature of her personality. Portraying her sanctity as a direct consequence of the personal zeal and innate humility of the former Merovingian queen, he purposely relies on few other aspects of her personality or activities, unlike the descriptions of her in his poetry or in Baudonivia's version of Radegund's *Life*. Surprisingly enough, in his *Life* of Radegund, Fortunatus fails to mention even once her acquisition of a fragment of the Holy Cross from Constantinople in circa 569, a central event in the development of the reputation of her convent. His poems praising the Holy Cross as well as its benefactors Justin II and Sophia, however, indicate his pleasure with the powerful gift.[16] One may only surmise that this omission stems from the poet's desire to heighten the effect of Radegund's sanctity, as well as to divorce her name from the political aspects of the diplomacy necessary to gain the relic.[17] By eliminating in his prose account direct competition between her achievements and the Holy Cross, or any association of her with worldly matters, he centers all attention on the power of the saint's persistent devotions.

Besides Fortunatus's apparent desire to omit mention of the ceremony at which the Holy Cross enters the convent, his text also lacks a description of Radegund's funeral in 587. Gregory, who describes both of these occasions in detail, makes no mention of Fortunatus's presence at either of these events. An explanation might lie partly in the absence of Fortunatus's name from Gregory's works in general, apart from references to his compositions, and thus does not constitute reason enough to doubt Fortunatus's presence from what would have been two wonderful opportunities for his public recitation of verse. It does not seem likely that Fortunatus is ignorant of these events but rather that he specifically chooses not to include them in Radegund's *Life*. Fortunatus's image of Radegund's seclusion, especially after her entrance into the cloister, would have been jarred by the contrasting public nature of the two events. In addition, Fortunatus's failure to mention any miracles performed at Radegund's tomb, might be accounted for by his composition of this tribute to the holiness of his close friend and spiritual guide very soon after her death, perhaps in an effort to dispel ill effects of the bishop of Poitier Maroveus's refusal to conduct her funeral. Moreover, while in mourning, Fortunatus must have found it difficult to portray the glory of his close friend's death. He instead stresses the personal and active nature of her sanctity as a woman of good works,

as opposed to Gregory, who instead sees Radegund's sanctity established with greater certainty by her death.

Gregory of Tours describes in his historical and hagiographical works primarily the more public events associated with Radegund's life, as well as a few miscellaneous details which coincide with his narration of other subjects. As would be expected of any member of a powerful Merovingian family, he has at least basic familiarity with the details of the life of the foundress of abbey of the Holy Cross. Radegund had many years before established her role as benefactress and pilgrim at the tomb of Saint Martin; soon after the time of her consecration as deaconess, Fortunatus explains that she had taken ship from Noyon to Tours to pay her respects to the holy sites associated with the saint.[18] Moreover, Gregory recognizes the protective relationship taken by his diocese for Radegund's convent, as his predecessor Euphronius had assisted Radegund on a few occasions. In addition to signing the petition granting recognition of her foundation and its adherence to Caesaria's *Rule*, Euphronius had partaken in the installation of the relic of the Holy Cross, when Maroveus had also declined to participate.[19] Gregory's personal association with Radegund and her convent, however, dates from no earlier than the time of his accession to his see at Tours in 573. Although Poitiers lies outside of the jurisdiction of the diocese of Tours, Gregory like his predecessor feels the need to act as bishop on behalf of Radegund as a result of the unwillingness of Maroveus to play any role whatsoever in the lives of the nuns. Thus, besides his involvement in a number of the more mundane affairs of the convent implied by Fortunatus, Gregory travels to Poitiers at the time of Radegund's death, for Maroveus does not even wish to aid in consecrating and burying her body at the funeral.[20]

Two elements rapidly become evident in describing Gregory's depiction of the holy as embodied by Radegund. Gregory consistently substantiates Radegund's piety by relying solely on other individuals' testimony, as opposed to Fortunatus's personal approach in describing Radegund's devout behavior. While to some extent, one might explain this portrayal in terms of Gregory's less personal and more official relationship with Radegund, a certain reluctance to jeopardize his own status by defending the holy nature of a somewhat controversial figure becomes clear. Gregory, who devotes a disproportionate amount of time to describing the uprising at Radegund's convent two years after her death,

does not wish to mire himself too deeply in defending the saint's reputation. As an example, Gregory's first reference to Radegund in his *History* simply states that she was, "famous for her prayers, vigils and her charities, and she became so well known that the common people looked upon her as saint."[21] Rather than give specific proof to substantiate Radegund's holiness, Gregory relies on a simple formulation of her activities and cites her popularity among the uneducated. Furthermore, at the time of the saint's funeral, Gregory notes the weeping of the nuns and phrases the account of her great sanctity primarily through their voices. On this occasion demoniacs also acknowledge her holiness by screaming that she is torturing them.[22] Empowered by the devil, the possessed in Gregory's works have a second sight by which to confirm the presence of the holy. Similarly, in his account of the demoniac who earlier came to be cured at the convent by the relic of the Holy Cross, he alone shouts and announces to the nuns that the holy Disciola has died and gone to heaven.[23] Although his inclusion of these events in themselves represent an impersonal recognition of Radegund's holiness, separating her distinctly from the subsequent events which mar the reputation of the convent and all associated, the power of these images is somewhat lessened by the nature of their telling.

The second aspect of Gregory's depiction of Radegund becomes clear in his closing line on the saint in *The Glory of the Confessors*. When describing the display of grief by the nuns at Radegund's funeral, Gregory states: "Such grief overwhelmed my breast that I would not have stopped weeping if I did not realize that the blessed Radegund had departed from her convent in body but not in power, and that she had been taken from the world and placed in heaven."[24] Gregory thus finally acknowledges Radegund's sanctity, yet phrases this recognition in terms of the benefits for the convent and in fact all of Gaul through her holiness. Certainly this imagery is not uncommon for Gregory, who thus concludes his work on the martyrs:

> So also you, if you manfully and firmly place the sign of salvation on your forehead or your chest, then by resisting vices you will be considered a martyr. For the martyrs themselves achieved their victories not by their own strength but with the assistance of God through the most glorious sign of the cross.

> As I have often said, the Lord himself struggles and triumphs in the martyrs. Therefore it is necessary for us to seek the patronage of the martyrs, so that we might be worthy to be helped by their assistance.[25]

Gregory envisions a cosmos in which the holy provide access points by which the ordinary may themselves achieve heaven. He tells of Radegund's sanctity in order that others may acknowledge her achievement; he sanctions their use of her powerful heavenly status, for she too during her lifetime recognized the divine force of the Holy Cross in her convent. Rendering more potent his depiction of Radegund as the Helena of Gaul in both faith and merit, her acquisition and appropriate treatment of the fragment of this most important relic constitute a great act of piety and heighten her status in the eyes of Gregory. While he recognizes the shortfalls of his own education and thus inability to properly describe these events, he finds the holiness of his subject so powerful that it overrides these fears.[26] Gregory's description of the miracles conducted by the Holy Cross at Radegund's convent implies his acceptance of the relic's satisfactory placement at the meritorious sanctuary where it receives its due honor.[27] One might hold this divinely sanctioned defense of Radegund's sanctity in some ways to be even more powerful and universal than Fortunatus's description of Radegund's personal devotion as an ascetic.

Fortunatus creates an image of a strong-willed woman dedicated to her faith, trying the patience of her violent captor and husband by distributing parts of their meal and objects of her own clothing to the poor. Chlotar complains that Radegund has acted in their marriage not as a wife but a nun; she meekly tolerates his arguments yet does not submit to the changes he demands. Moreover, with her escape to Saint Medard of Soissons, Radegund provokes the bishop with strong words to consecrate her as deaconess, despite his hesitation to anger Clothar by this affront.[28] The subject of Fortunatus's account is not a woman who does anything halfheartedly, and his honest portrayal of Radegund's stubborn fortitude lends a sense of heightened realism to his narrative. More than simply providing a description of the personality of Radegund, however, Fortunatus emphasizes the necessary persistence of the queen in renouncing her worldly status in order to attain a heavenly one. Fortunatus states that the glory of God manifests itself even in the weak ves-

sel of the female sex through merit and faith.[29] Thus, the strength and zeal with which Radegund overcomes these numerous physical obstacles to achieve a life of chastity and sanctity become symbolic of the divine sanction of her mission. Fortunatus provides no instances of Radegund's personal indecision or inner stuggle, but instead demonstrates that not only does Radegund seek holiness, but also that God's will alone has brought about her ability and desire to do so.

Fortunatus symbolically delineates Radegund's roles as queen, disperser of charity, and, finally as a religious woman who has taken her vows, through his description of her interaction with clothing. As a young girl, Radegund cleans the floor of the oratory of Chlotar's villa with her dress, soiling her royal clothing with dust from the threshhold of the Lord.[30] Radegund thus gravitates early to the holy and attempts to incorporate a physical sign of this commitment onto her being. Moreover, as a young queen, Radegund receives instruction from a religious woman Pia to wear goatskin under her royal clothing as part of her penance during Lent.[31] Fortunatus suggests that while she still appears a worldly figure to her husband and those around her, Radegund has already begun to cleanse her inner soul in preparation for her holy profession. Fortunatus employs especially powerful imagery to illustrate Radegund's radical transition from queen to deaconess. As Saint Medard remains reluctant to consecrate her, she appears in the church already dressed in her new religious costume.[32] Radegund herself has taken the active role in exchanging her queenly clothing for vestments of white;[33] the bishop may only sanctify what has already occurred. Culminating with her donation of all her clothing and jewels to the altar and the poor on that day, Radegund's bodily transformation is complete.

Fortunatus frequently portrays Radegund giving over her lavish royal clothing as if they represent vestments for the altar. Indeed he states that whenever Radegund receives praise for a new linen shawl encrusted with precious stones, indicating her great wealth, she removes and bears the clothing to the nearest holy place.[34] There she gives the clothing as an offering, thus recognizing the appropriate place for such finery to be the altar and not herself. Moreover, Fortunatus emphasizes the new role that Radegund will play now that she has renounced her role as worldly queen and enters into the kingdom of Christ who reigns forever. For in the heavenly sphere: "There is a palace there of topaz, with

gates of emerald, in which the lintels are decorated with precious stones."[35] On the head of every virgin who enters these gates, Christ places: "a radiant crown set with beryls intermixed with white emeralds; a hair-band the color of amethyst tied around her brilliant hair, which falls loosely upon her collar decorated with pearls."[36] Clearly Radegund gives up worldly riches for the much more powerful and everlasting riches of heaven. This sacrifice is made not only by herself, but later, once she has founded her convent, by the wealthy and powerful young girls who enter this sacred place.

While Gregory does not employ royal imagery in relation to Radegund's holy profession, he illustrates her divinely bestowed grace at the time of her funeral by stating that her face shines more brightly than lilies and roses. He describes how the abbess Agnes wraps Radegund's body in so many spices that a larger casket is necessary, one formed of two tombs joined together by removing the one side of each.[37] While her burial in this manner is probably necessary as a result of the length of time which passes between her death and the arrival of Gregory from Tours to perform the service, Gregory omits mention of this difficulty.[38] Instead, the saintly aroma of Radegund's body becomes not merely spiritually but also physically overpowering to all present. Gregory narrates that the nuns of the convent cry out on this occasion that, "when we saw your glorious face [that of Radegund] we found there gold and silver; there we saw blossoming vineyards, waving cornfields and meadows blooming with a variety of different flowers. From you we picked violets; for us, you were a glowing red rose and a brilliant lily."[39] While Gregory's description is not as eloquent as Fortunatus's, in the nuns' eyes as well as Gregory's, Radegund represents the means by which these nuns receive their encouragement and example. Choosing flowers and fertile fields to describe the holiness of the saint, they emphasize by these images not only the red of martyrdom, the purple of heavenly royalty and the fragrant bouquet of sanctity and purity, but also the rich fruit that this woman has borne.

Fortunatus, whose poems about Radegund do not allude frequently to the blessed aroma and colors of roses, lilies and violets, explains more specifically, however, the nature of her fertility. Likening the flowers received by the nuns now to the ones they will receive in heaven, Fortunatus describes Radegund as a most blessed gardener. Because she has renounced the ability to bear children of her own blood, and

has dedicated herself to devout chastity, she plants seeds in the persons of the young girls, the very nuns who blossom before Gregory's eyes at her funeral.[40] Blossoms and fertility similarly constitute powerful themes for Fortunatus in relation to the Holy Cross, which he describes as a tree which bears new fruit and protects with its shade.[41] Both Fortunatus and particularly Gregory recognize that by constructing the walls of her sheltering convent and acquiring a piece of this holy wood for her nuns, Radegund seeks to ensure through powerful means both the sanctity and fertility of her creation.

In returning again to the importance of Radegund's status as queen and then royal foundress, one must recognize the power, flexibility and relative freedom that this position affords to her. Radegund's role as a woman of wealth devoted to the poor through charity and the freeing of prisoners justifies her access to worldly power in the eyes of Fortunatus and Gregory. For the two men being recipients of her generosity recognize the necessity of patronage; wealth and influence used appropriately do not constitute a source of criticism. Even so, Fortunatus plays down the role of Radegund's status and defends her just use of wealth frequently in her *Vita,* most likely in order to refute future criticisms of the former queen. At her consecration, as well as at numerous other times, she makes donations to local churches and monasteries, including Saint Martin's at Tours.[42] Furthermore, Radegund on a number of occasions before entering the convent succors the poor with various forms of wealth. For instance, on the occasion of her consecration as deaconess discussed above, the saint has her weighty gold girdle crushed and distributed to the poor.[43] In fact, she often gives clothing to the poor, because she recognizes, "that the limbs underneath poor clothing are protected by Christ: believing that what she did not give to the poor was lost."[44] Radegund acts as a patroness of captives as well, her intercession on their behalf taking both a practical and religious form: Fortunatus states that before entering the cloister she uses her influence to appeal directly to the king for the condemned. In another instance, the chains of the imprisoned break in response to her recitation of the psalms.[45] As Michael Wallace-Hadrill makes clear, Radegund does not condone the crimes that these men have committed, but rather exercises appropriate charity when the opportunity arises.[46]

Fortunatus, unlike Gregory, devotes much time to a description of Radegund's penitent behavior. Before becoming a

nun, Radegund does not seek to impose her ascetic lifestyle on those around her; frequently she gives to the hungry the very food from which she has abstained, and on other occasions she provides lepers with banquets while she herself retreats to pray in another room.[47] According to Fortunatus, her generosity and sanctity make her very popular among the people of Poitiers; great crowds gather in the streets and on the rooftops of the buildings of the city in order to be present on the day she enters the convent.[48] Gregory confirms her holy reputation and generosity by stating that among the nuns, clerics and even possessed, none present on the day of her funeral are able to desist from weeping profusely.[49] Fortunatus's description of the ritualized asceticism of Radegund becomes especially prolific after her entrance into the cloister. He regards her austerity as a manifestation of her personal responsibility for the well-being of her soul, and in a sense these descriptions fill the vacuum left by her inability to fulfill her former active role in relation to the poor and ailing, now that she is cloistered. Disturbing in their harshness, her acts of humility include harsh fasts, tortures with metal wires and self-inflicted burns.[50] Fortunatus in his *Life* stresses her holiness and activities within the convent, conflicting with his poems describing the feasts provided for him by Radegund and Agnes, as well as Baudonivia's more practical account of Radegund's activities as the Helena of Gaul in her acquisition of the Cross.[51] As discussed earlier, this discrepancy must be interpreted as Fortunatus's desire to separate Radegund from the mundane and the worldly in his more directed and somewhat formulaic *vita* of this ascetic. Moreover, he seeks to depict her, especially after her profession as a nun, as powerful as a result of her pristine sanctity alone, and not due to her association with either royalty or relic.

Both Fortunatus's and Gregory's accounts of Radegund bear repeated reference to acts of purification rendered by the saint. More than simple emphasis on the nature of the Radegund's pristine nature, which signifies her inner sanctity, the precise details of her devotion to the cleanliness of sacred objects around her indicate the authors' desire to show both her recognition of and respect for the holy, as well as a certain sense of responsibility appropriate to a royal foundress. Fortunatus describes in great detail the constant attention of the saint even as a young girl to the purity of the oratory of Chlotar's royal villa: she polishes the floor of the sanctuary with her own clothing and gathers the dust

from the altar, collecting these grains with great reverence.[52] Indeed, this image might indicate to the reader simply a young girl's desire to "play house" and indeed imitate her elders, yet Fortunatus purposefully demonstrates this act to be a result of Radegund's own initiative in recognizing her religious responsibilities. Radegund's actions echo the liturgical practice of a cleric cleaning the altar with the maniple of his vestments.[53] Moreover, because she is able to collect some amount of dust, Fortunatus indicates the failure of a cleric to fulfill this duty. Despite her companion, the young cleric Samuel, who assists her in the religious processions she leads through the villa, her activities in the oratory appear to be completely independent. Not only does Fortunatus seek to portray Radegund's poignant dedication to the holy, but he also prefigures the nature of the future abbess in her innocence by portraying a young girl, indeed a blessed vessel, with clothing worthy of comparison to sacred vestments.

Fortunatus links Radegund's desire to purify most frequently with her care for the poor and her cures of the ill early in her life. Far from being miraculous, the saint's activities in washing the hair and bodies of the impoverished and the ailing as well as applying salve to their wounds, indicate the depths of her humility and dedication to the apostolic ideal. Her physical contact with the ill brings the holy into direct association with suffering.[54] She ministers to even lepers, whom she feeds and clothes in addition to tending their ulcers. By likening her treatment of the lesions of her impoverished charges to anointing with evangelical oil, Fortunatus clearly wishes to establish the holiness and purity of Radegund in the midst of inconceivable need.[55] Moreover, her loving treatment of her charges by washing and applying salve transforms the lowliest of tasks into a symbolic ritual of baptizing and sanctifying.

Worthy of note too is the change which occurs with Radegund's monastic profession. As Radegund's confinement within the walls of her foundation and obedience to Caesaria's *Rule* represent official recognition of her holy intentions and orthodoxy, Fortunatus now feels justified in utilizing powerful imagery in relation to her healing powers.[56] Caesaria's *Rule* enjoins that the sick be bathed when necessary,[57] thus Fortunatus feels confident in portraying many of her cures through the cleansing or bathing of the ill as miraculous. The nun Animia, in one instance, who suffers from dropsy, a condition involving an excess of humours,

dreams of Radegund lowering her into an empty bath; upon awakening she finds herself completely cured of her illness. Similarly, Radegund revives from the dead a young infant by cleansing her in warm water.[58] Fortunatus indicates thus, that Radegund is able to transmit the healing power of inner purity through both the physical and symbolic cleansing of her charges. Furthermore, Fortunatus's account illustrates Radegund's dedication to cleanliness manifesting itself in other ways as well within the convent. For Radegund engages in the most ordinary as well as the most vile of tasks with no hesitation, cleansing vegetables for the convent's simple meals, washing and tending to the courtyards of the convent, cleaning and oiling the shoes of her fellow nuns while they sleep, and even carrying out the foul-smelling dung which must have been an ever present concern within the walls of the cloister.[59] In all of these duties which Radegund takes upon herself, she abhors an audience, seeking instead to perform these activities in humility and silence. In addition to providing a fascinating window into the more practical and seldom visible aspects of conventual life, Fortunatus engages his audience with easily identifiable tasks which they themselves would probably confront daily. His imagery succeeds in both emphasizing the humility of a woman who might have remained queen as well as elevating the status of the performance of mundane and abhorrent tasks in the monastery. Fortunatus has again transformed these humble acts into an affirmation of piety; the acts themselves have gained some sort of liturgical significance in the daily ritual of Radegund's life. The reader must conceal disappointment that after Radegund's funeral, when the nuns of the convent display to Gregory her prayer mat, book, and spindle, all of which remind the nuns of her holy profession, they do not also show him her broom or cleaning rags.[60]

Gregory, who avoids most reference to the mundane activities of Radegund, appropriately provides a more symbolic account of Radegund's powers as a purifying force in the life of the convent. The bishop narrates the account of the death of the holy nun Disciola in Radegund's convent; a possessed man shouts that he sees her body being escorted to heaven by the archangel Michael. The holiness of the nun is reaffirmed by the fact that even Radegund cannot find a winding sheet as white as the chastity of the deceased nun.[61] In this manner, Gregory demonstrates that the purity of heavenly holiness transcends even the purest of worldly objects, including those possessed by Radegund. Furthermore, Gregory also re-

lates that another nun of the same convent dreams that she has drunk from the well of living water and meets Radegund nearby this river. Radegund strips from the nun all her clothing and dresses her in a shining queenly robe.[62] In this way, Gregory conveys a powerful image of the role Radegund plays among her nuns, not merely as an example of sanctity and humility, but also in the same manner that a relic would function, as the intermediary between her charges and salvation. Thus Gregory states that the nun upon waking asks to be enclosed permanently in her cell so that she might dedicate herself to reading and prayer. Symbolically cleansing her of her worldly attachments, Radegund provides the nun with the means of achieving even greater purity by her own merit.

This construction of a double set of walls--a sealed cell within the cloister--presents a disturbing image for the reader. For the anonymous nun seeks a piety even greater than she is able to find at the convent, yet hesitates to abandon the physical and spiritual protection afforded by its walls. According to Caesaria's *Rule*, no nun may leave the convent once professed;[63] consequently she must adapt in this manner to the environment in which she is committed to stay for the rest of her lifetime. Although the *Rule* states that no nun may have a private cell,[64] the Byzantine practice of a nun sealing herself within her cell represents an even higher level of sanctity, and is not to be considered a part of this prohibition. The action also parallels the activities of the desert saints, who in contrast to the cultural ideals of the fourth century, sought truth in isolation rather than in urban centers. Because a Merovingian holy woman had no access to the desert, she instead thus created a similarly sterile environment in which to achieve the ascetic ideal.[65]

While the explicit praise of Radegund's sanctity remains clear in the dream narrated by Gregory, the nun's act brings into question the very nature of the conventual life practiced at Radegund's foundation. The needs of the anonymous nun have clearly not been satisfied. This criticism may indeed reflect the discomfort that Gregory and other bishops of his time felt with the poorly defined status of a convent in the hierarchy of the ecclesiastical landscape of Gaul.[66] Foreshadowing the later rebellion at the convent, Gregory suggests that the cloister has not provided a sufficiently stringent environment for the most ascetic. At the same time, one must be wary of interpreting Fortunatus's repeated descriptions of the extra tasks and self-humiliation practiced

by Radegund as expressing similar criticism. His extensive narration of her ascetic activities accomplish a slightly different purpose: as former queen and abbess, Radegund must take additional steps to achieve the most devout lifestyle, and thus quell the doubts of any who question the abbess' dedication to holiness in her own life. In contrast, for Gregory, the anonymous nun, with the permission of Radegund, has created personal solitude within the walls of a convent perhaps too worldly, recalling the isolated existence and individual sanctity achieved in the Syrian deserts a few centuries before.

Although Gregory interjects thus what appears to be skepticism of conventual life at the Holy Cross, at the same time he recognizes the necessity of the cloister.[67] Outside the walls lurk the dangers of incessant warfare as well as exposure to threatening heretical doctrine;[68] the nuns who enter the convent, desire through divine aid to, "escape the jaws of the spiritual wolves."[69] Gregory portrays the convent as an appropriate location to house religious women, their presence there sanctioned by the Holy Cross. Including Gregory himself, who personally witnesses the power of the relic to produce additional lamp oil, the admirers of the relic recognize its symbolic as well as physical ability to illuminate even the darkest hours of Good Friday.[70] The Holy Cross, with which he associates a large part of Radegund's sanctity, becomes a beacon which draws nuns and those who seek divine assistance into direct contact with the holy. While Gregory proclaims Radegund's attainment of the heavenly sphere, in his eyes her achievement rests as much upon her treatment of the relic as her personal sanctity. In contrast, Fortunatus portrays Radegund as a woman deserving of heavenly reward as a consequence of an innate personal holiness and dedication to asceticism. Radegund herself represents the focal point of holiness at her convent. Omitting virtually all connection of the saint with worldly concerns or her association with the Holy Cross, the poet strongly points towards a sanctity based on merit, rather than on the status which she has possessed since birth or on the powerful relic which she has acquired by diplomatic means. Fortunatus depicts Radegund with a personal power so great, that when Floreius, the man commissioned to fish for the convent by the saint, fears the great waves of the sea, he feels confident in calling upon the saint to quell the storm and assure his safety.[71] While both Fortunatus and Gregory recognize the convent of the Holy Cross as a legitimate and

potent religious center, the imagery with which they each depict Radegund demonstrates the vast differences they feel in designating the primary source of her innate sanctity. Their understanding of the nature of holiness differs fundamentally, shaped for Fortunatus by a classical education and familiarity with early Christian exemplars, and for Gregory by rather limited schooling and a strong belief in the efficacy of relics.

NOTES

1. A number of studies contrasting these two contemporaries have been done. Brian Brennan provides a detailed analysis of Gregory's and Fortunatus's description of the conversion of the Jews at Clermont as well as their attitudes towards the *populus Christianus*. Brian Brennan, "The Conversion of the Jews of Clermont in AD 576," *Journal of Theological Studies*, new series 36(1985): 320-337. Peter Brown warns against drawing too distinct a line between late antique and early medieval attitudes towards sanctity. Peter Brown, *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity*, (London, Faber & Faber, Ltd., 1982), 226-227. Walter Goffart makes reference to the two men's literary capabilities. Walter Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History (A.D. 550-800): Jordanes, Gregory of Tours, Bede and Paul the Deacon*, (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1988), 146ff. Michael Wallace-Hadrill discusses some of the effects of the differences in education on the writing of Gregory and Fortunatus. J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1983), 78-88.

This discussion will not focus on Baudonivia's *Life of Saint Radegund*, as extensive comparisons between her work and Fortunatus's have previously been made. Baudonivia, *Vita Sanctae Radegundis*, II, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum Medii Aevi*, new edition, vol.2: Fredegarii et Aliorum Chronica Vitae Sanctorum, (Hannover, Impensis Bibliopolii Hahmani, 1956), 377-395. Brian Brennan, in relation to this subject, discusses at length the basis for the contrasting accounts of Radegund's *Life* by Baudonivia and Fortunatus. Brian Brennan, "Saint Radegund and the Early Development of her Cult at Poitiers," *Journal of Religious History* 13(1985): 340-54. Jacques Fontaine also briefly discusses this issue. Jacques Fontaine, "Hagiographie et politique, de Sulpice Sévér à Venance Fortunat," *Revue Historique Ecclesiastique en France* 62(1976): 114-115. Sabine Gaebe points to differences in the objectives of Fortunatus and Baudonivia as authors. Sabine Gaebe, "Radegundis: Sancta, Regina, Ancilla. Zum Heiligkeitsideal der Radegundisviten von Fortunat and Baudonivia," *Francia* 16(1989): 1-30. Similarly, Suzanne Wemple addresses the contrasts between the two versions of Radegund's *Life*, and provides explanation for their differences. Suzanne Fonay Wemple, *Women in Frankish Society: Marriage and the Cloister 500-900*, (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981), 181-5.

2. Brown, *Society*, 226.

3. Wallace-Hadrill, 86.

4. Goffart, 140-141. Brown, *Society*, 223ff.

5. Although Collins deals primarily with Fortunatus's *Lives* of Merovingian "monk-bishops," many of his observations remain pertinent in a discussion of Radegund's life. He dedicates interesting research to the language of Fortunatus's

compositions which are addressed to *audientes* rather than *legentes*. Richard Collins, "Observations on the Form, Language and Public of the Prose Biographies of Venantius Fortunatus in the Hagiography of Merovingian Gaul," *Columbanus and Merovingian Monasticism*, edited by H.B. Clarke and Mary Brennan, BAR International Series 113, (Oxford, BAR, 1981), 106-107. Fortunatus similarly states in the prologue of Radegund's *Life* that: "ferre temptamus in publico, ut, cuius est vita cum Christo, memoria gloriae relicta celebretur in mundo." Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Sanctae Radegundis*, I, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum Medii Aevi*, new edition, vol.2: Fredegarii et Aliorum Chronica Vitae Sanctorum, (Hannover, Impensis Bibliopolii Hahmani, 1956): I, Prologue. I thank Sarolta Takacs for all of her work in our effort to translate this text.

6. Wallace-Hadrill, 86. Gaebe, 3-4. Peter Brown discusses the use of living exemplars rendering the past accessible to common Christians during late antiquity. Peter Brown, "The Saint as Exemplar in Late Antiquity," *Representations* 1(1983): 1-25.

7. Fontaine, 129-131. Alison Elliot discusses the problem of the *vita* and historical accuracy, describing hagiography as, "ethically rather than factually true." Alison Goddard Elliot, *Roads to Paradise: Reading the Lives of the Early Saints* (Hanover, University Press of New England, 1987), 3-7.

8. Gaebe states that in his poetry Fortunatus shows Radegund a *domina* and holy ascetic, while in the *vita* her virtues are solely linked to her deeds. Gaebe, 5-9.

9. Goffart, 202.

10. Bernard Guenée, "Histoires, annales, chroniques: Essai sur les genres historiques au Moyen Age, *Annales: Économies, Societés, Civilisations* 28(1973): 998-1002.

11. Wallace-Hadrill, 83. Raymond Van Dam, *Leadership and Continuity in Late Antique Gaul,* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1985), 222-3.

12. Venance Fortunat, *Poesies Melées*, translated by Charles Nisard with Eugene Rittier, (Paris, Librarie de Firmin-Didot et C., 1887), VIII, 2 and 12; Appendix, 26 and 27.

13. Samuel Dill, *The Roman Society in the Merovingian Age,* (London, MacMillan and Co., 1926), 378.

14. Georg Scheibelreiter discusses at length the relationship between Fortunatus and Radegund and the abbess Agnes. Georg Scheibelreiter, "Koenigstoechter im Kloster: Radegund (d.587) und der Nonnenaufstand von Poitiers (589)," *Mitteilung des Instituts fuer Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung,* 87(1979): 26-7. This subject is also discussed by Gaebe as listed in #8. Julia O'Faolain depicts Radegund's personality as headstrong and proposes the nature of her relationship with Fortunatus in her historical novel. Julia O'Faolain, *Women in the Wall,* (London, Virago Press, 1975).

15. Fortunatus, *Poesies,* VIII, 2. Peter Brown discusses the relationship between the desert saints and their disciples, a concept which seems to apply fairly well to this example as well. Brown, "Saint," 9-17. I will draw other parallels between Radegund and the desert saints below.

16. Fortunatus, *Poesies,* II, 1-5. Brennan, "Saint Radegund," 345-346.

17. Gregory of Tours, *The History of the Franks*, translated with an introduction by Lewis Thorpe,, (Penguin Books, New York, 1974), IX, 40.

18. Fortunatus, *Vita,* I, 14.

19. Gregory, *History*, IX, 39.

20. Fortunatus, *Poesies*, VIII, 12. Gregory of Tours, *Glory of the Confessors*, translated and with an introduction by Raymond Van Dam, (Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 1988), 104.
21. Gregory, *History*, III, 7.
22. Gregory, *Confessors*, 104.
23. Gregory, *History*, VI, 29.
24. Gregory, *Confessors*, 104. Goffart discusses Gregory's acknowledgement of posthumous miracles, thus through relics, as being more efficacious. Goffart, 140-1.
25. Gregory of Tours, *Glory of the Martyrs*, translated and with an introduction by Raymond Van Dam, (Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 1988), 106.
26. Brown, *Society*, 240. In the preface of the first book of "The Miracles of Blessed Martin the Bishop," Gregory states in response to his mother's question, why he does not describe the miracles he has seen at the tomb of Saint Martin: "'You know that I am not learned in literature and being simple and unskilled would not dare describe such awe-inspiring miracles. Would that Severus or Paulinus were alive, or indeed that Fortunatus were present to describe these deeds! Since I am incompetent, I would incur shame if I tried to do this.' And she [his mother] said to me: 'Do you not know that on account of the ignorance of our people the way you can speak is considered more intelligible? So do not hesitate and do not delay doing this since it will be a charge against you if you pass over these deeds in silence.' So I wish to do this but am afflicted by double dread, equally by grief and fear; grief because such great miracles done under our predecessors have not been described, fear of approaching so excellent a work, since I am a rustic. But led by the hope of divine favor I will approach what is advised. For He, Who produced water from a dry rock in the desert to quench the burning thirst of a people, is able, I believe, to display these things through me though I lack eloquence." *Gregory of Tours: Selections from the Minor Works*, translated by William McDermott, (Philadelphia, 1949), 17-18. Clearly Gregory sees himself as exploring a field which he understands to have been little touched before, that of the great power of relics.
27. Gregory, *Martyrs*, 5.
28. Fortunatus, *Vita*, I, 5; I, 12.
29. Fortunatus, *Vita*, I, Prologue.
30. Fortunatus, *Vita*, I, 2.
31. Fortunatus, *Vita*, I, 6.
32. Fortunatus, *Vita*, I, 12.
33. Fortunatus, *Poesies*, VIII, 1.
34. Fortunatus, *Vita*, I, 9.
35. Fortunatus, *Poesies*, VIII, 4.
36. Fortunatus, *Poesies*, VIII, 3.
37. Gregory, *Confessors*, 104.
38. Scheibelreiter, 13.
39. Gregory, *Confessors*, 104.
40. Fortunatus, *Poesies*, VIII, 3. Gregory, *Confessors*, 104.
41. Fortunatus, *Poesies*, II, 1.
42. Fortunatus, *Vita*, I, 3.
43. Fortunatus, *Vita*, I, 13.
44. Fortunatus, *Vita*, I, 3.
45. Fortunatus, *Vita*, I, 10; I, 11. Collins describes the wide use of such a theme

among Merovingian hagiographers, due to its appeal to the public to whom such a work is directed. Collins, 116-117.
46. Wallace-Hadrill, 93.
47. Fortunatus, *Vita*, I, 4; I, 17.
48. Fortunatus, *Vita*, I, 21.
49. Gregory, *Confessors*, 104.
50. Fortunatus, *Vita*, I, 22, 25, and 26.
51. Wemple states that her possession of the Cross placed her in the position necessary to act as intercessor for Merovingian kings. Wemple, 184-185. Fortunatus in the *Vita*, however, chooses to omit reference to the Holy Cross in contrast to Baudonivia who states that Radegund: "ut sicut beata Helena sappientia inbuta, timore Dei plena, bonis operibus gloriosa lignum salutare, ubi precium mundi pro nostra salute appensum fuerat, ut nos de potestate diaboli eriperet" Baudonivia, *Vita*, II, 16.
52. Fortunatus, *Vita*, I, 2. The theme of Radegund's sanctity is remembered even today; at Jesus College, Cambridge, her feast day is still celebrated by the blessing of the bathrooms.
53. Fernand Cabrol and Henri LeClercq, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, X, (Paris, Librarie Letouzey et Ané, 1931), 1411-1416.
54. Brown, 228.
55. Fortunatus, *Vita*, I, 19; I, 17. Collins points out that miracles which occur through the medium of sacraments, "are destined to facilitate the incorporation of the *vita* into the symbolic structure of the divine service through the resumption of themes already long since emphasized by preaching in the cities of Roman Gaul." Collins, 112-113. The elements in Radegund's *Life* which point towards possible liturgical usage of the text for public ceremony seem numerous.
56. Van Dam, 263.
57. Maria Caritas McCarthy, *The Rule for Nuns of Caesarius of Arles: A Translation with a Critical Introduction*, Catholic University of America: Studies in Mediaeval History, new series, XVI, (Washington, D.C., Catholic University of America Press, 1960), #31.
58. Fortunatus, *Vita*, I, 37; I, 39.
59. Fortunatus, *Vita*, I, 23.
60. Gregory, *Confessors*, 104. Gregory, however, would not have found the same significance in brooms or rags as Fortunatus.
61. Although the text states "abbatissa" here, one might infer that Gregory means Radegund and not Agnes. Fortunatus as well addresses Radegund on occasion as "veneranda abbatissa beata Radegundis," a title of respect. Fortunatus, *Vita*, I, 35.
62. Gregory, *History*, VI, 29.
63. McCarthy, *Rule*, #2.
64. McCarthy, *Rule*, #51.
65. Alison Elliot discusses the role of the liminal hero and the steps taken by the desert saints in order to achieve true purity through their ascetic lifestyles. The desert, usually associated with lifelessness and death, becomes a setting for great sanctity in a period after the legalization of Christianity, when the opportunity for martyrdom no longer existed. Elliot, 169-179. Radegund's *Life* parallels in many cases the exemplars proposed by Elliot.
66. Scheibelreiter, 9ff.
67. Brennan, "Saint Radegund," 344.

68. Gregory, *History*, Prologue.
69. McCarthy, *Rule*, #2.
70. Gregory, *Martyrs*, 5.
71. Fortunatus, *Vita*, I, 31.

Faith in the Name of America's Self-Interest: An Analysis of the Marshall Plan and its Historiography

Crister S Garrett

At five minutes past midnight on the 14th of March, 1948, the United States Senate voted, sixty-nine to seventeen, in favor of the US Economic Co-Operation Act. Soon thereafter the House of Representatives passed legislation similar to that approved in the Senate; the smattering of differences between the two bills were worked out in conference. On the 3rd of April, president Harry S. Truman signed the final version of the legislation that has become known popularly as the Marshall Plan. A dramatic moment in the effort to create sufficient support for the bill occurred at the beginning of March when Senator Arthur Vandenburg spoke before a Senate packed by its own members and by many colleagues from the House of Representatives. Expounding the purpose of the economic assistance act, Vandenburg explained:

> It aims to preserve the victory against aggression and dictatorship which we thought we won in World War II. It strives to help stop World War III before it starts. It fights economic chaos which would precipitate far-flung disintegration. It sustains Western civilization. It means to take Western Europe completely off the American dole at the end of the adventure.

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> It recognizes the grim truth--whether we like it or not--that American self-interest, national economy, and national security are inseparably linked with these objectives.[1]

Earlier in his speech, the Senator had summed up in one sentence why the bill should be approved: "In the name of intelligent American self-interest it envisions a mighty undertaking worthy of our faith."[2]

The Marshall Plan has been cited since its passage by Congress as perhaps the preeminent example of American munificence towards other societies struggling to acquire political liberties and economic prosperity. Today one reads about Israel requesting a "Marshall Plan" to help the country out of its economic straits; similar recommendations have been put forth concerning eastern and central Europe. A proposal has even been made for a "global Marshall Plan" under which developed countries would promote economic growth in the developing world with programs that would not cause widespread environmental damage.[3] The Marshall Plan has become myth. This process began when those who played a role in assembling the program that was to bear General George C. Marshall's name left memoirs and wrote histories about the massive aid program. The resulting record depicts this bold policy stroke as a response to immediate and ominous dangers that threatened Europe's economic and political recovery during the early postwar years. These historical accounts assert that the Marshall Plan was successful in neutralizing threats to western Europe's security.

This summation has not gone unchallenged. Revisionist historians have portrayed United States postwar foreign policy, the Marshall Plan included, in a distinctly different manner compared to the picture provided by the orthodox historians. Under the revisionists' glare, Truman's European recovery program no longer represented a noble and necessary cause but a tool and a reflection of the United States' push for global hegemony. This interpretation has not gone unchallenged, either. Recent histories of the Marshall Plan, reflecting greater access to archives only now available to historians, have sought to reestablish the importance of the myriad of problems facing American leaders during the immediate postwar years in government decision-making. Neither a plot nor a righteous cause, the Marshall Plan has become in the minds of the postrevisionists a tale of conflicting interests and partially reached objectives. Marshall

Plan historiography reflects the three schools of cold war thinking that have emerged: orthodox, revisionist, and postrevisionist.

An examination of the memoirs of the principal participants in the formation of the Marshall Plan and of some of the key documents pertaining to the purposes of the program demonstrates that the postrevisionists are correct in reaffirming the diverse themes of early postwar American diplomatic history. This is not to argue that the assertions of the orthodox and revisionist schools are to be dismissed: they make points and provide details that must be included in any history of the Marshall Plan. While the three schools of Marshall Plan historiography have provided a rich tradition of research and writing, all three also reveal shortcomings at various junctions in their approach to the subject. They do not adequately assess and infuse their histories with what are often the key elements that influence most types of government decision-making. These elements include the preponderant importance of personal observations made by those with the power to change policy, the near panic-causing pressures of time constraints, the haphazard means by which information is gathered to construct national policies, and the kneading and molding of the basics of a policy that takes place among the various bureaucratic agencies. Excellent histories of the Marshall Plan have been written. Yet the many layers and density of the story have yet to be presented in a fashion that includes the pace, the scope, the uncertainties, the successes, and the clear failures of this unprecedented American diplomatic undertaking.

The Telling of the Tale

The justification for the proposal of the Marshall Plan has been described clearly and vividly in the memoirs of president Harry Truman, undersecretary of state Dean Acheson (to become secretary of state in 1949), State Department officials George Kennan and Charles Bohlen, senator Arthur Vandenburg, and in the biography by Forrest Pogue of George Marshall, Truman's secretary of state from January 1947 to January 1949.[4] The two semi-official histories of the policy undertaking have been written by Joseph Jones and Harry Price, both State Department officials who worked on the contents of the Marshall Plan in its incipient stage.[5] In his book, Jones titles a chapter, "Western Europe on the Brink."[6] Europe on the brink of economic chaos and political anarchy,

the orthodox school of Marshall Plan historiography argues, required a rapid American response in the form of a massive program of economic aid. Otherwise, if Europe were allowed to teeter off the edge of societal stability, then the communists, led by Stalin, would move quickly to promote their tyrannical interests at the cost of western Europe. Whether World War III would have started as a result, as Vandenburg suggested before the Senate, is debatable. Yet few traditional historians or Truman administration officials would contradict the assertion that if the Soviets were allowed to acquire the primary political position in western Europe then almost all gains acquired by defeating the Nazis would have been lost. These gains were not lost because of prescient political vision and strong leadership. Robert Donovan concludes that president Truman left behind the monuments of the reconstruction of postwar western Europe and the forging of the Atlantic community through the Marshall Plan and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.[7]

The revisionist historian William Appleman Williams refutes the argument made by the orthodox historians. The Marshall Plan was not a response to unique circumstances in history which required a resolute response by the United States. The Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine, Williams argues, "were the two sides of the same coin of America's traditional program of open-door expansion."[8] The military and economic emphasis of containment, what Walter LaFeber has termed "two halves of the same walnut", had little to do with saving western Europe from communism, revisionist historians maintain, but rather with assuring that American capitalists would have secure markets upon which they could unload their surplus production.[9] Joyce and Gabriel Kolko contend: "The ERP [European Recovery Program] policy would have been the same had the USSR not existed. The basic problem was to reconstruct a capitalist Europe, thereby creating a capitalist trading structure for the export of goods and capital and the import of raw materials, which was a direct response to the imperatives of the American economic system."[10] These imperatives, Williams concludes, molded the evolution of America's atomic age diplomacy: "It was not the possession of the atomic bomb which prompted American leaders to get tough with Russia but rather their open-door outlook which interpreted the bomb as the final guarantee that they could go further faster down the path to world domination."[11]

Notable characteristics of orthodox and revisionist

writings--the indignation revealed by revisionists over the coarse materialism guiding American politics, and in its own way, the stirring portrayals of the Marshall Plan that arose from most of the orthodox historians' intimacy with the actual events--are not evident in a school of postrevisionist historiography that has emerged over the last fifteen years. Justifications and accusations are absent. They have been replaced by greater emphasis on explorations of how the Marshall Plan came to take its form in the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948, how this legislation was implemented in western Europe, and to what extent promulgated objectives where actually achieved. Postrevisionist historians have made extensive use of archives in West Germany, France, the United Kingdom, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Norway, to provide fuller character portrayals of the actor-states that played important roles in the Marshall Plan drama. Within this general development in Marshall Plan historiography, two approaches to the reassessment of Truman's policy objectives in Europe are discernable.

The first approach involves historians who have analyzed specific elements of the organization and impact of the Marshall Plan. Imanuel Wexler takes a strictly economic approach in examining whether the massive economic aid that the United States provided western Europe between 1948 and 1951 led to the desired results and was thus a successful program. He bases his conclusions on the criteria set forth in the Economic Cooperation Act that called for western Europe to have "a healthy economy independent of extraordinary outside assistance" by 1952 (somewhat detached language for what Senator Vandenburg referred to in his speech as getting the Europeans off the American dole). This overall goal would be furthered by the establishment in Europe of a strong production capacity, the expansion of foreign trade, the creation and maintenance of internal financial stability, and the organization of European economic cooperation.[12]

Wexler concludes that the economic objectives of the Marshall Plan were partially realized when the European Recovery Program ended officially on December 30, 1951. The almost 12.4 billion dollars in American grants had led to an unexpectedly strong resuscitation of European production and to the expansion of European foreign trade. Yet efforts at European economic cooperation had resulted in limited success up to that point, and the combination of the Korean war and increased European defense spending had vitiated much of western Europe's internal fiscal and monetary stability.

Wexler concludes his analysis by stressing that while the Marshall Plan was a mixed success in a strict and short-term perspective, it nevertheless laid the foundation for the economic boom that was to take place in western Europe from the mid-1950s through the mid-1960s.[13]

John Gimbel is not so interested in examining the effects of America's European recovery aid as he is in exploring how the Truman administration justified its allocation of European assistance and how it was distributed after Congress approved the funding. Gimbel maintains that the Marshall Plan was not a response to a Soviet threat. His thesis, Gimbel states, is that "the Marshall Plan originated as a crash program to dovetail German economic recovery with a general European recovery program in order to make German economic recovery politically acceptable in Europe and in the United States."[14] European sensibilities were basically the same in 1947 as they were after the First World War: it would be necessary to guarantee that Germany would never again have the war making capacity that had allowed it to tear apart Europe during 1914-1918, and for the second time in a half century, from 1939-1945. The State Department acknowledged their allies' worries by proposing that European recovery proceed at a measured pace that did not allow Germany's potential economic might to reestablish itself before the rest of Europe had a chance to put its economic house in order.[15]

The War Department wanted no part of the State Department approach. The longer it took Germany to recover, the War Department argued, the longer their personnel and funds would have to be deployed in the occupation of Germany. Lucius D. Clay, the governor of the American zone in occupied Germany, thus proposed a quick recovery program. This would be accomplished by transforming the former enemy into the economic engine of postwar Europe and thereby facilitating the transition of Europe from a state of rubble to a state of sound political and economic affairs. The Marshall Plan overcame these differences between the War and State Departments, Gimbel argues, by allocating enough money so that rapid recovery could occur for all of western Europe, thereby alleviating fears on the Continent and reducing antagonisms between bureaucratic agencies within the Truman administration.[16] In essence, Gimbel argues that the Marshall Plan, like the Camp David Accords, turned adversaries into allies by lavishing enough money all around that it was in everybody's monetary interest to cooperate.

The second group of postrevisionist works revolve

around the efforts of Alan Milward and Michael Hogan. Both historians have delved deeply into the archives to write overall accounts of the Marshall Plan that permit them to reach more general conclusions about the motivations, successes, and failures of Truman's European recovery program. Milward's conclusions are the more controversial. They are in fact part of an exercise in counterfactual history in which Harold van Cleveland, who helped put together the original fiscal figures for the Marshall Plan, has also participated. Cleveland and Milward both argue that most of the European recovery could have taken place without United States assistance. Cleveland notes that while recovery would have proceeded at a slower pace, it would have continued. He adds that even though the Marshall Plan was not an economic necessity, it was a brilliant stroke politically, leading Europeans to realize that the United States was willing to make the effort to maintain Europe's postwar security.[17]

Milward does not grant even this point. He contends that Europe's problem was not a lack of capital to promote economic growth, but that growth was occurring too rapidly, thus depleting the dollar reserves of the European countries. Except for the Netherlands and France, the Marshall Plan did not stave off economic ruin but simply provided a comfortable fiscal cushion for an already recovering Europe. By the end of 1949, moreover, the Marshall Plan was a "near-complete failure" politically because national differences in Europe were still distinct. Past antagonisms had yet to be allayed. The postwar world, Milward concludes, would have looked "much the same" without the Marshall Plan.[18]

Michael Hogan disagrees in part with Cleveland; he reaches fundamentally different conclusions than those of Milward. Hogan and Milward based their conclusions upon striking and impressive approaches of analysis. Milward culled the archives of Norway, France, Belgium, West Germany, and the United Kingdom to produce a huge amount of research that has allowed him to provide an intimate portrayal of European politics centered around the Marshall Plan. Although Hogan has limited his archival research to England and the United States, he weaves the rest of Europe into his story. He places his data into a structure that he calls the New Deal synthesis. America's recovery from the Depression, and the disillusioning experiences that stemmed from Europe's financial situation after Versailles as reflected in the Dawes and Young plans, had led to a general impression in American government circles that the most propitious method of pro-

moting economic prosperity in Europe after the Second World War would be to encourage a combination of private market initiatives, a large American allocation of capital grants, and a federal European structure that allowed, like in the United States, for smaller governments to practice economic policy in a larger and potentially more profitable market.[19]

This economic experience gained in the 1920s and 1930s guided the Truman administration's construction of the Marshall Plan, Hogan contends. It also accounted for Britain's resistance to the organizational objectives of the New Deal synthesis. If the United Kingdom were to integrate its economy with the Continent and to liberalize its currency, a measure promoted by the United States to encourage international trade, then Britain's image of itself as a global power would be impossible to refurbish as it became simply another player in European politics with a currency no longer propped up by protection. Britain's worries over its postwar grandeur and French concerns over a reinvigorated Germany led the Truman administration, Hogan maintains, to compromise its federalist objectives in the Marshall Plan. Yet the economic success of the European recovery program was clear and dramatic. Hogan concludes: "the Marshall Plan must be judged as one of the most successful peacetime foreign policies launched by the United States in this century."[20]

Milward wrote in a critical but civil review that with Hogan's book, "we now have the first full diplomatic history of the Marshall Plan."[21] Milward is overly generous. Hogan does indeed provide a highly detailed and sophisticated account of Anglo-American relations during the Marshall Plan years, but it is Milward who provides this service regarding Continental politics surrounding Truman's economic assistance program. Both works are to be praised. Yet these books, by their very depth, tend to lose in the hundreds of pages of evidence and analysis the tensions and pressures that government leaders faced in the spring of 1947 and in the subsequent years. More substantive critiques can be applied to the works of the orthodox and revisionist historians.

Dramatic descriptions, eloquent arguments, and important conclusions are presented throughout the Marshall Plan historiography. Historians to date have provided great substance and nuance to the tale behind America's effort to help establish economic growth and political stability in Europe following the Second World War. What is either omitted or not sufficiently emphasized in these histories is the importance that personal observations made by principal

government players had in influencing Truman's European recovery program, the incredible pressures and time constraints under which these officials worked, the role that rhetoric or its absence played in influencing perceptions about government policy, the haphazard nature of bureaucratic decision-making, and the link that exists between psychological security and economic security in the definition of national prosperity. The facts about the Marshall Plan have been compiled, impressively so by recent postrevisionist historians. The task that lies ahead is to capture them in a gripping fashion so that the complexities of government decision-making and the tempo of the times in which these decisions were reached can be revealed fully.

A Critique of the Telling; An Analysis of the Tale

While speaking in Fulton, Missouri on March 5, 1946, Winston Churchill described the times as "anxious and baffling."[22] Robert Dallek has concluded that uncertainty was the keynote of the early cold war years and that by 1947 a "growing sense of separation and vulnerability at home now registered forcefully on foreign affairs."[23] This uncertainty was caused largely by the deterioration in Soviet-American relations and by America's worries about the country's transition to a peacetime economy. The Truman Doctrine addressed and intensified the growing perception in the United States that Stalin had czarist ambitions that could threaten the global prosperity of democracy. An ominous indication of where these designs could reveal themselves next was provided in late 1946 and early 1947 by the growing uncertainty about whether western Europe could establish economic and democratic vitality for itself in the postwar period.

Michael Hogan notes in an article exploring events leading to the Marshall Plan that a sense of urgency emerged in the American government caused by the devastating winter of 1946-1947 in Europe, the admission of Communists into the French government, and the growing fear in Washington that Europe's seemingly moribund economic condition would result in another international Great Depression. Key figures in the Truman administration considered that bold steps must be taken to check the spread of communism by bolstering the economic performance of western Europe.[24] The uncertainty and anxiousness surrounding this period are described in the memoirs and semi-official histories that address the Marshall

Plan. The revisionists, on the other hand, side-step the "context of the times" issue altogether as they race toward their conclusions about the designs of the cold war cabal in American government.

The postrevisionists do try to address the issue and yet a conundrum arises from their efforts: how does a historian assemble in great detail a story which takes place over a period of only three to four years without compromising the essential quality in good historical writing of depicting and maintaining the mood of the times? How does a historian wander among and examine the wide variety of factual trees without forgetting and losing the image of the thematic forest? These are problems facing the historian that rarely have satisfactory answers. Michael Hogan did accomplish the task of balancing detail and design in the articles that he published, prior to his five-hundred page history of the Marshall Plan, dealing with events leading up to the passage in April 1948 of the Economic Cooperation Act.[25] Perhaps success here resulted from Hogan's understanding that he had to keep theme, thesis, and evidence in a proper perspective to make a thirty page article meaningful. If this understanding could have been applied to the chapters in his book, then Hogan's major work would have been more engaging to the reader.

Keeping the historical setting in focus could be improved by assigning greater relevance to the observations made by Truman administration personnel who had major roles in influencing the Marshall Plan's conception. Naturally, this ingredient of the story comes across most tellingly in the accounts of the orthodox historians. It is somewhat lost in the mounds of detail in postrevisonist writings; it is absent almost altogether in revisionist arguments. An example of this point can be taken from the Moscow Conference as it was concluding in April 1947, when General Marshall was paying his last visit to Stalin before the secretary of state was to return to the United States. Charles Bohlen, who accompanied the General on his visit to the Soviet leader on April 18th, described the ninety minute meeting that ensued: "Doodling the inevitable wolf's head with a red pencil, he [Stalin] asked what difference it made if there was no agreement...To him, there was no urgency about settling the German question. We should be detached and even relaxed about the subject. This was his main thesis."[26]

Marshall concluded from that meeting that Stalin considered the best means to further Soviet interests in Europe was to let matters drift until chaos erupted. Upon his return

to the United States, the secretary of state delivered a national radio address underscoring Europe's plight and concluded: "The patient is sinking while the doctors deliberate."[27] During these first few days back from Moscow, Marshall also requested that the Russian expert, George Kennan, leave his post at the War College, organize the State Departments' Policy Planning Staff, and have prepared in two weeks a policy paper with recommendations on how to turn around the situation in Europe. From general impressions created over the previous two years, the dire situation of Europe noted in the spring of 1947, and the observations made at a ninety minute meeting with Stalin, George Marshall became determined in later April 1947 to see that the United States would take the initiative in western Europe. An important shift in American diplomacy was beginning, not because of global designs of dominance, but because a key official had interpreted personal experiences as a national need for a bold European policy.

Marshall's conclusions were substantiated by a memorandum that undersecretary of state for economic affairs, William Clayton, wrote and sent to undersecretary Dean Acheson in May 1947, after Clayton returned from Europe. Clayton describes how, "Millions of people in the cities are slowly starving," and that Europe was at an already "absolute minimum standard of living. If it should be lowered, there will be revolution." He added later in the memorandum: "Aside from the awful implication which this would have for the future peace and security of the world, the immediate effect on our domestic economy would be disastrous: markets for our surplus production gone, unemployment, depression, a heavily unbalanced budget on the background of a mountainous war debt."[28] Bohlen was to write the upcoming "Marshall Plan" speech based on Clayton's memorandum and the one Kennan was to present shortly to the secretary of state.

Personal observations made over a period of weeks thus played a vital role in molding the Truman administration's approach to European affairs. Rapid and decisive steps needed to be taken to avoid the potential collapse of western Europe, which if it took place, would dramatically increase the threat of communism to the United States. It would do so in two ways. The cause of democracy would have been dealt a great blow. Yet as Clayton notes, America's economy would suffer greatly, as well. The revisionists are certainly correct in noting the importance that economic calculations had in

the Truman administration's presentation of the Marshall Plan as a program that, while spending money, would also put many millions of dollars into American pockets.

On May 16, a week prior to Clayton's memorandum, Kennan and the Policy Planning Staff, which had been established eleven days earlier, had completed a list of recommendations, as Marshall had requested, for how to improve the health of the sinking patient named western Europe. "The most important and urgent element in foreign policy planning," Kennan began, "is the question of restoration of hope and confidence in Western Europe and the early rehabilitation of the economies of that area." The United States should be forthcoming in aid, and yet: "The program for American aid should be, if possible, supplementary to a program of intramural economic collaboration among the western European countries which should, if possible, be initiated by one of those countries...A clear distinction must be observed between these two programs." Kennan went on to stress: "We should be careful not to talk in terms of loans when there is no plausible prospect of repayment and should make it clear to everyone that assistance in these cases will have to be by means of outright grants."[29]

The last comment is an unmistakable allusion to the debts that the Europeans owed to the United States after World War I and how these liabilities led to the Dawes and Young plans and eventual irrelevancy regarding actual repayment. The aftertaste for the Americans of that experience had been bitter, another example of how the Europeans had managed to bamboozle their American cousins. Kennan understood this and therefore recognized the need to be forthright with the American public from the outset about how the United States should finance European recovery. At the same time, Kennan understood the dangers of managing the details of how recovery should proceed. America would supply the financial capital; Europe could lay out the political capital to create the proper, free-market conditions for encouraging economic growth. Kennan's memorandum was not a blueprint for American dominance of Europe and the world. It was a piece of analysis, researched and written in eleven turbulent days, that emphasized not so much prospective areas of American aggrandizement but rather the pitfalls the United States must avoid to escape falling into the same international monetary quagmire that the country found itself in after the First World War.

The month of May provided yet another important

moment leading to the creation of the Marshall Plan when undersecretary of state Dean Acheson made a policy speech on the 8th before the Delta Council in Cleveland, Mississippi. John Gimbel has argued, beyond how Germany was the key motivation for the Marshall Plan, that the Truman administration obfuscated its plans to encourage European recovery. This was necessary to lull the Congress and the American public into approving the massive aid program, a major portion of which would be used to rebuild a society that had caused so much recent misery. Acheson's Delta Council speech contradicts Gimbel's argument by revealing how the Truman administration presented its program publicly as idealistic, self-serving, and clearly oriented towards assisting Germany. Acheson stated in his speech that the gap between peace and anarchy was diminishing because of three economic realities: (1) the "acts of God" that had translated into two years of drought and a terribly cold winter in Europe (2) the amount of rubble that still needed to be cleared for countries to become fully functioning again, and (3) "...the grim fact of international life...that two of the greatest workshops of Europe and Asia--Germany and Japan--upon whose production Europe and Asia were to an important degree dependent before the war, have hardly been able even to begin the process of reconstruction because of the lack of a peace settlement."[30]

Acheson then told his audience of the huge surpluses that the United States had, how these were being used to facilitate reconstruction, but how both the vanquished and the victors in Europe did not have sufficient funds to purchase additional and needed goods from America. It was thus necessary, he concluded, to provide the funds to America's allies to promote democracy and vibrant capitalism on both sides of the Atlantic. Acheson did not dilute with abstractions the motivations that lay behind this proposal: "These measures of relief and reconstruction have been only in part suggested by humanitarianism...your Government is carrying out a policy of relief and reconstruction today chiefly as a matter of national self-interest."[31] The Truman administration made it clear that the need for a vital German economy, the need to lessen America's surpluses of raw and processed goods, and the cause of postwar stability, all necessitated a large American aid program to Europe. The president was "playing it straight" with the American people as Kennan was to recommend that Marshall do with the Soviet leadership later on.

The absence of anti-communist and anti-Soviet rhetoric in the secretary of state's "Marshall Plan" speech de-

livered at Harvard on June 5, 1947 is indeed well known. Bohlen notes in his memoirs that he and Marshall had told Truman that they felt the president's rhetoric employed in the March 12 "Truman doctrine" speech was too confrontational. The Administration's stated objective of containing the expansion of communism could be pursued with less provocative means. Marshall had emphasized to those preparing his policy address that "irritation and passion should have no part of the matter." This did not mean, as Kennan emphasized, that the proposed aid program should be a blank check to the Europeans and to the Soviets: the scope of the program should lie within the realm of calculated political economy. The secretary of state thus told the crowd gathered at Harvard: "governments, political parties, or groups which seek to perpetuate human misery in order to profit therefrom, politically or otherwise, will encounter the opposition of the United States."[32]

This absence of strident rhetoric against a particular ideology or country substantiates Adam Ulam's assertion that the revisionist thesis of atomic diplomacy is ill-founded.[33] Ulam queries that if the United States intended to manipulate the Soviet leadership through America's newly acquired military assets, then why did Truman not pointedly tell Stalin, before Soviet soldiers had moved into Manchuria, that Soviet assistance in the defeat of Japan was no longer necessary. A similar line of reasoning can be applied to the Marshall Plan. If it were intended as a clear check against Soviet expansion, then why did Marshall not state as much in his Harvard address? By mid-1947 Soviet-American relations were stripped of practically all illusions. If the United States was planning world hegemony at the expense of the Soviets, then Marshall, as secretary of state, could have easily contoured his speech to make it a direct challenge to Soviet interests: all those willing to take an anti-Soviet stand would receive American dollars in recognition of their position. This was not the purpose of Marshall's proposition, however. It was a purposely toned down, limited offer to provide a large infusion of American capital to those nations willing to employ it in promoting societies guided by democratic and free-market principles.

It is true that the Marshall Plan, by promoting these precepts, reflected an American exercise of "in our image." Hogan's analysis of the New Deal synthesis perceptively portrays the image that the United States was trying to project. This being the case, did the Truman administration ever seri-

ously contemplate making the Soviets a part of the Marshall Plan funding? The orthodox historians say yes, the revisionists say no, and the postrevisionists say that both groups are right. Marshall did ask what the United States should do about including the Soviets, and Kennan did reply that they should "play it straight," allowing Stalin to participate if he so desired. James Byrnes (Truman's secretary of state from July 1945 through December 1946) expressed in, *Frankly Speaking* , what most of those involved in the Marshall Plan proposal probably suspected prior to the June 1947 Paris meeting during which the Marshall Plan was outlined for the Europeans: Soviet foreign minister, V. M. Molotov, refused the offer of American aid because of the inspection intrusions that acceptance would have entailed.[34] These stipulations, the revisionists argue, reveal that the United States was not serious about including the Soviets.

This assertion by the revisionists needs to be balanced by two other considerations. As the postrevisionist historian John Lewis Gaddis has noted, there was no chance of Congress passing legislation to provide billions of dollars to the Soviets once the mood of the American public in 1947 and 1948 had been taken into account.[35] Isolationism and anti-communism were prevalent. Yet let us assume, for a brief bout of counterfactual history, that the Congress had approved the funding, and the Soviets had allowed the inspections. Just where would Stalin allow these inspections to take place, and what would the funding be used for by the Soviet dictator? From what is known about Soviet domestic history during the early postwar years, it can be deduced that American delegates most likely would have been shown a twentieth century version of the Potemkin village while American aid was employed to rebuild a centralized economy and to further centralize an already deadly concentration of political power. As events actually unfolded, Ulam describes, the Soviets interpreted the Marshall Plan as a hostile act by the bourgeois world to reclaim eastern Europe.Stalin's response was, specifically, to found the Cominform in September 1947, and generally, to tighten his control over eastern Europe.[36] In this sense, the Marshall Plan did further divide a communist and capitalist Europe.

Even though the Soviets and their newly acquired buffer states were excluded from the Marshall Plan, the cost to America of providing aid to western Europe was still enormous. The dollar amount proposed for the long term European recovery program caused divisions within the

Democratic and Republican parties. The conservative senator, Robert Taft, labeled the program as a "European TVA" while the progressive, Henry Wallace, spoke of a "Martial Plan." Senator Vandenburg told the Truman administration not to include the sum of seventeen billion dollars in the proposed legislation to be sent up to the Hill because that would provoke opposition. Vandenburg himself was torn between the costs of the Marshall Plan and his desire to battle communism, as he wrote to his wife in November, 1947: "If our friends in Western Europe are allowed to starve and freeze to death this winter, the Commies will be completely back in the saddle. On the other hand, we must keep our own feet on the ground and avoid commitments that would disrupt our own economy. Where to draw the line!"[37]

What Vandenburg's words and the divisions within America's political parties reveal is that while a general recognition existed in the United States about what needed to be done to encourage stability in western Europe, America was divided over its humanitarian impulse and whether national interests at home would be compromised by attending to national interests overseas. Indeed, Milward notes in his review of Hogan's book that, "Much of the revival of diplomatic history in the last ten years has been due to the belated recognition that it is superficial stuff unless it relates to what is actually happening inside the countries."[38] Milward then praises Hogan's book for its portrayal of the complexities of domestic politics that stirred the Marshall Plan debate in the United States. Big businesses did not necessarily have the same interests as small businesses, Hogan explains, and such divisions of interests ran through geographic regions, political parties, and the Truman administration itself.[39] The national debate about the Marshall Plan revealed that there was no single American interest to further abroad, but a host of specific interests that a host of groups viewed as being both served and disserved by the Marshall Plan project.

A principal cause of the contradictions in the American response was that the isolationist mood of America was clashing with what Robert Dallek has described as the "psychology of hope." "The continuing desire for universal harmony," Dallek notes in his book, *The American Style of Foreign Policy*, "expressed itself in the Marshall Plan."[40] This reflected the evangelical element in the psychology that influenced America's international politics. The United States and the world could be at peace and enjoy prosperity if the message about the benefits of the American approach to

social organization could be grasped by the international community. Historians of the Marshall Plan have noted how the discrepancy between the pristine and practical qualities of the United States' proposed European recovery program led to much of the national uncertainty about its merits.

Dallek's psychological analysis underscores a gap that exists in the research completed on the Marshall Plan. What Hogan accomplished with the long-range perspective in his analytical tool of the New Deal synthesis has yet to be done in addressing the question of how the American response to the Marshall Plan represented the psychological themes present in American diplomatic history throughout the twentieth century. America's experiences with domestic and international economics clearly influenced how the Truman administration stipulated that ECA funds should be used. The arguments for and against approving that funding, however, revealed the important role that prevailing national sentiments played in influencing how lessons in economic history were applied to the construction of current government policy. National moods and national economic policy are two sides of the same coin upon which America's international politics have been stamped during this century.

The preamble to the 1948 Economic Cooperation Act recognized, "[the] intimate economic and other relationships between the United States and the nations of Europe," and that, "the existing situation in Europe endangers the establishment of a lasting peace, the general welfare and national interest of the United States, and the attainment of the objectives of the United Nations."[41] The orthodox school of Marshall Plan historiography points out consistently that, as stated in the preamble, both American idealism and self-interest were largely served by approval of the ECA. It was the result, as William Appleman Williams notes, of three concepts prevalent among the public and the politicians that had guided United States foreign policy since the turn of the century: (1) a sense of humanitarianism (2) the belief in everyone's right to self-determination, and (3) the visceral notion that the American approach was the best to governing a country.[42] Joyce and Gabriel Kolko and Williams are also correct to depict the motivation of the Marshall Plan as stemming from the need to reduce the United States' growing economic surpluses.[43] Gaddis tells us that one of the central contributions of the revisionist school of cold war history is their reemphasis of America's economic motivation for engaging in international politics.[44]

The revisionists' reemphasis should be accompanied by reemphasizing that the Truman administration never tried to conceal the economic benefits of the Marshall Plan for the United States. It used this attraction as one of its main selling points of the Plan to the Congress and to the American people. Acheson's Delta Council speech makes this clear. The revisionists are clearly wrong when, as the Kolkos do, they argue that the Truman administration employed Red Scare tactics to gain approval for the Marshall Plan, a policy designed, the revisionists maintain further, to increase the United States' dominance of the world economy. As noted, Marshall made it a point not to use anti-Soviet rhetoric in his Harvard address and had criticized Truman in private for doing so in March 1947. The way in which the Marshall Plan came to fruition--the influence of personal observations about the misery breeding in Europe, the time-pressures facing the Plan's architects, the stress on getting Europe back to economic prosperity, and Kennan's emphasis on grants and not loans as the process by which to encourage the recovery--points to a process of policy-making that was haphazard, rushed, and guided not by designs of conquest but by fears of repeating mistakes made in the interwar years.

The world dominance argument can be put to rest with an understanding of an economic axiom. When a company that dominates a town wants to keep its employees indebted and thus subjugated to the company, does the company provide those employees with a sum of cash, free of charge, with which the employees can pay off their debts? No, the company provides the employees with loans at high interest rates that further sink the employees into debt, thus increasing the company's hold over the employees. Kennan, Marshall and Truman had a sound understanding of economics and that is why they stressed grants to Europe and not loans. They had no interest in being the content capitalists presiding over a destitute company town. In part, these capitalists had an aversion to presiding over such a situation because they were well aware that the communists managed their business affairs in a radically different way, a form of management that workers had heard about and had talked of approvingly.

N. Gordon Levin Jr. is thus correct in concluding: "[the] Wilsonians laid the foundations of a modern American foreign policy whose main thrust, from 1917 on, may be characterized as an effort to construct a stable world order of liberal-capitalist internationalism, at the Center of the global ideological spectrum, safe from both the threat of imperialism

on the Right and the danger of revolution on the Left."[45] The Marshall Plan addressed this objective from, in the words of Donovan, "its rambling evolution from the jungle of problems that called it forth."[46] Once funding for the European recovery program had been approved in April, 1948, "The overriding task that seemed to confront American policy in Europe," as Truman put it sometime earlier, "was to provide an incentive for the Europeans to look at the situation in the broadest possible terms rather than in a narrowly nationalistic, or even partisan, focus."[47] That incentive was to tie the reception of American dollars under the Marshall Plan to the restructuring of the European economies so that they functioned within a federalist structure; or more specifically, within the guidelines of open borders, free trade, and responsible fiscal management.

Orthodox historians tend to portray this process of encouraging European federalism as largely successful. "One of the reasons the Marshall Plan worked so well," Bohlen argues, "was that the sixteen European countries that joined it contained the necessary qualified personnel, skills, and institutions. All the United States was doing was injecting a little economic blood into a system that had stopped functioning."[48] Bohlen's conclusion is wrong in almost every respect, as the postrevisonists have made clear. Milward shows that while a few Europeans held a vision of European cooperation (Schuman, Monnet, Spaak), this did not translate into a rapid evolution towards European economic integration. Even the Rome Treaty of 1957, the legal foundation for the European Economic Community, contains considerable exclusions for national priorities.

Both Milward and Hogan explore in their books the details of how British desires for regaining its colonial grandeur, French fears of a revitalized Germany, and the determination of leaders in Germany to control their own economic recovery, resulted by the end of the ECA's jurisdiction in December, 1951, in only limited European federalism. As for trained personnel, Hogan points out that it was the lack of such experts that compelled the ECA to use its funds to train Europeans in the modern techniques of economic management. Over three hundred American specialists were sent to Europe, 124 European-American labor management groups were established, and technical and scientific information were disseminated through films, literature, and exhibits.[49] Orthodox historians are accurate overall in depicting what led up to the Marshall Plan but tend toward self-justification when it

comes to their evaluation of the Plan's consequences. The implementation of the Marshall Plan receives the most detailed and balanced treatment from the postrevisionists.

Structural reorganization of Europe's economies was one of two objectives set before the Marshall Plan. The other was simply to get Europe's economies to produce enough to keep its people dry and fed and to have enough assets left over to build an infrastructure for a modern free-market system. Wexler argues, as noted, that in the short term the Marshall Plan was a mixed economic success using the Plan's own criteria, but that nevertheless, it was a dramatic success in the longer perspective. Hogan agrees with this line of reasoning. The revisionists do not address so much the consequences of the Marshall Plan for western Europe as they do its existence as another factor increasing Soviet fears of an aggressive American foreign policy. Ulam, whose provocative style is not to be confused with the revisionist school's, does point out that the Marshall Plan did result in increased Soviet paranoia. Yet as with so much of revisionist writing, cause and effect are confused in the making of an argument. Ulam's point is certainly correct. Yet there is no evidence that the Marshall Plan was meant to provoke the Soviets, as the revisionists argue. The political consequences of the Marshall Plan in eastern Europe, the postrevisionist duo of Milward and Cleveland argue, could have been avoided altogether since western Europe's economy would have largely recovered without the huge influx of American dollars and technology.

Let us assume that the assertion of these two historians is correct. Could the leaders of the United States afford in 1947 to base their postwar policy on a calculation that parts of Europe would probably recover on their own? Politicians carefully calculate the costs and benefits of their decisions, and as Truman notes:

> Seventeen billion dollars sounded like a huge sum, and of course it was. But compared to the financial cost alone of World War II, it seemed small. The money to be invested in the rebuilding of decent standards of living in Europe would amount to only five per cent of the sums we had expended to defeat the Axis. It would represent less than three percent of our total national income during the time that the program would be in effect.[50]

Seen from the perspective of the White House, the living rooms of America, and the capitals of Europe, the stakes being played for were the prevention of the spread of communism and for the promotion of democratic, capitalistic societies. At minimum, Truman felt it worthwhile to hedge his bets by advocating the Marshall Plan and thus improving his chances of winning the strategic game and preserving his political career. "If there is a single theme which runs through this book," Gaddis wrote in the preface to *The United States and the Origins of Containment*, "it is the narrow range of alternatives open to American leaders during this period as they sought to deal with problems of war and peace."[51]

Beyond America's domestic politics, the economic consequences of the Marshall Plan cannot be separated from the mood of despair that existed in Europe from 1946 to early 1948. Recent West German history on the Marshall Plan has also questioned the specific economic benefits of American aid. It tends then to go beyond Milward and Cleveland, however, to stress the enormous psychological impact the Marshall Plan had upon German hopes of digging themselves out of the rubble and moving towards recovery. Knut Borchschardt and Christoph Buchheim have provided a detailed argument that in the West German textile industry Marshall Plan dollars played a crucial role in unblocking the impasse that had arisen from the immediate need for increased cotton imports and the national policy of keeping inflation in check. Textile merchants and manufacturers could not raise prices sufficiently to build a base of capital for purchases of raw materials and machinery. Marshall aid provided them with the goods and the capital, thereby allowing prices and inflation to remain low.[52]

Yet the importance of Marshall Plan aid for the West Germans went beyond financial support to include the Plan's symbolism as a sort of railying cry of American support for Europe's efforts at reconstruction. This was stressed by Chancellor Willy Brandt when he spoke at Harvard on June 5, 1972, to commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Marshall Plan's passage into law. He explained that the result of the program: "was more than the release of economic dynamism, more than the rekindling of industrial vitality which produced miracles, not only in the Federal Republic of Germany after the currency reform. Every nation of Western Europe showed in its own way that it possessed the unbroken will to work and pull itself up again, a will that had only waited to be sparked off."[53] The argument that has been made

in this essay for what constituted the motivations behind the American public's acceptance of the Marshall Plan can also be applied to evaluate the consequences of the European recovery program. Economic and political factors must surely be considered, but these cannot be separated from psychological considerations when one seeks to construct an overall assessment of the driving forces behind America's international policies and the impact they had, and have, at home and abroad.

What underlies this point is the more general consideration of what constitutes good historical scholarship. The three schools of Marshall Plan historiography all display important elements of what should be included in an engaging, intricate, well-argued exploration of history. The orthodox historians provide the drama, the sense almost of emotion, that surrounded the turbulent times of the early postwar years. The revisionists are correct in pointing out the economic, self-serving motivations of America's cold war politics. Although their arguments have numerous flaws, the very provocativeness of the revisionists' approach has initiated a response that has left the overall body of Marshall Plan historiography considerably richer. Contentious arguments such as those provided by the revisionists have their place in an open and vital historical debate.

The response by the postrevisionists has been to dig deeply into more recently opened archives to counter their immediate predecessors by constructing a more balanced history of the Marshall Plan. They have succeeded admirably in this task, whether in their technical economic data or in their broader portrayals of Atlantic diplomacy. In their search for objectivity, however, the postrevisionists have become almost too detached from their subject, often depicting their subject and presenting their conclusions in an abstract or dry style. History is an art form, and the historian should not retreat from using brisk and varied prose to instill pace and vigor in their portraits of the past. This form of presentation does not detract from the quality of the scholarship but enhances it, placing the rich details unearthed by research into a context as close to the times examined as possible.

This approach is especially apt for a period as dramatic in the scope of its consequences and in the density of its detail as the Marshall Plan years. Truman's recovery program was a response to the perceived suffering of millions of Europeans, and more specifically, to Marshall's interpretation of Stalin's practiced aloofness during their ninety-minute meeting on April 18th, 1947. It was influenced by the stark

observations of undersecretary Clayton, the analytical mind of Kennan, and the legislative expertise of Vandenburg. It reflected the psychology of hope so prevalent in the American mood at the time, and the pervasive fear that if Europe's economy failed, America's would suffer dramatically, too. It underscored, to paraphrase Vandenburg, an American faith that by pursuing national interest, global--humanitarian--interests would also be served. It revealed the gap between Europe's visionaries and those that sought power within the narrower confines of national economic and political interests. It was a period of history marked by hastily assembled answers to momentous problems, by national vanity and national selflessness, by partial successes and partial failures. It was, in short, like many other periods of history, and yet altogether unique.

The Marshall Plan Today

Both the uniqueness of the past and its similarities to the present has been recognized recently by distinguished historians. Michael Howard has written in the journal, *Foreign Affairs*, about a current springtime of nations.[54] H. Stuart Hughes has made a similar comparison between 1848 and 1989 in the *Los Angeles Times*.[55] We are witnesses to a renaissance of hope in eastern and central Europe, to the wake of the cold war, and thus to an end in a period of historical consciousness that has spanned over four decades. How do we approach the emerging era? Former West German chancellor, Helmudt Schmidt, tells us, "We need a European Marshall Plan for Eastern Europe."[56] Zbigniew Brzezinski, president Carter's former national security adviser, has proposed that the United States provide eastern Europe with a twenty-five billion dollar aid package. After all, he argues, the Marshall Plan cost 179 billion, in 1989 dollars.[57] Richard Gephardt, the majority leader in the House of Representatives, has recommended that America send its agricultural surpluses to the Soviet Union, a "food for freedom" program. "Stability, democracy, and a market economy in the Soviet Union," the Representative has argued, "are in America's strong self interest."[58]

The reception of Gephardt's proposal has been lukewarm on Capitol Hill and by the American public. Budget deficits compounded by the Persian Gulf war and concerns over domestic social problems make the idea of a Marshall Plan for the Soviet Union and eastern Europe appear as a lux-

ury that Americans feel they are neither able, nor willing, to afford. Recent political developments in the Soviet Union make it unclear, moreover, whether United States assistance would be employed to install an open, market-driven economy. Americans would most likely be hesitant, as was the case with the Marshall Plan, to provide massive aid to a regime that did not employ democratic and capitalistic systems of governance. Reference to the Marshall Plan by Schmidt, Brzezinski, and Gephardt nevertheless underlines the status that the Marshall Plan myth has today as a symbol for an unusual act of national munificence. Gephardt's referral to surpluses, to making the Soviet system just like America's, and this country's ambivalence to his proposal, also reveal that the themes which shaped the original Marshall Plan continue to influence the design of American foreign policy.

NOTES

1 Arthur Vandenburg Jr., *The Private Papers of Senator Vandenburg* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1952): 389-391.

2 Ibid., 389.

3 Philip Shabecoff, "A 'Marshall Plan' for the Environment," *New York Times*, 3 May 1990, A3.

4 Memoirs consulted include Dean Acheson, *Present at the Creation* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1969); Charles Bohlen, *Witness to History 1929-1969* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1973); James Byrnes, *Speaking Frankly* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947); George F. Kennan, *Memoirs 1925-1950* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1967); Charles P. Kindleberger, *Marshall Plan Days* (Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1987); Harry Truman, *Years of Trial and Hope* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1956). For Marshall, see Forrest C. Pogue, *George C. Marshall: Statesman* (New York: Viking, 1987).

5 Harry Price, *The Marshall Plan and Its Meaning* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1955); Joseph Jones, *The Fifteen Weeks* (New York: Harcourts, Brace & World, 1955).

6 Jones, 78-85.

7 Robert Donovan, *Tumultuous Years: The Presidency of Harry S Truman* (New York: W.W. Norton & co.,1982): 408. Donovan published, *The Second Victory* (New York: Madison Books), in 1987 as a forty year commemoration of the Marshall Plan. The project was funded by the German Marshall Fund of the United States.

8 William Appleman Williams, *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co.,1972): 269.

9 Walter LaFeber, *America, Russia, and the Cold War 1945-1984* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1985): 49.

10 Gabriel and Joyce Kolko, *The Limits of Power* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972):379.

11 Williams, 229.

12 Imanuel Wexler, *The Marshall Plan Revisited* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1983):5.

13 Wexler, 250-255.
14 John Gimbel, *The Origins of the Marshall Plan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976): 4.
15 ibid.
16 Gimbel, 273-275. Another analysis of the bureaucratic aspect of the Marshall Plan is Hadley Arkes', *Bureaucracy, the Marshall Plan, and the National Interest* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972). Arkes' approach is theoretical. He examines the role of regimes - the ECA and Congress - in performing state policy and argues that the roles of these regimes within the state were important in influencing the outcome of the Marshall Plan. They not only contributed to the definition of national interests, but they played key roles in pursuing what they helped to define.
17 Alan Milward, *The Reconstruction of Western Europe 1945 - 1951* (London: Metheun & Co., 1984): 465-6, 282; Harold van B. Cleveland, "If There Had Been No Marshall Plan...", in Stanley Hoffman and Charles Maier eds., *The Marshall Plan: A Retrospective* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1984):59-64. Charles Kindleberger notes in, *Marshall Plan Days*, that Cleveland supported the Marshall Plan while he worked on the project because at that time Cleveland was a Keynesian economist. Yet as of late, Kindleberger argues, Cleveland has changed his mind about the merits of the Marshall Plan because Cleveland has been converted to monetarism.
18 Milward, 469-70, 252.
19 Michael Hogan, *The Marshall Plan: America, Britain, and the Reconstruction of Western Europe, 1947-1952* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987).
20 Hogan, 445. Henry Pelling argues that the Marshall Plan was even a political success. It kept the communists from taking over in western Europe and it paved the way for Europe's acceptance of a prosperous Germany. It was a success economically, as well, Pelling argues. The objective of the Marshall Plan was to restore living standards to their prewar levels and this was largely done after four years; see Henry Pelling, *Britain and the Marshall Plan* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1988).
21 Alan Milward, "Was the Marshall Plan Necessary?," *Diplomatic History* 13 (Spring 1989):231. For a review of Marshall Plan histories that have been published recently, see William Diebold, "The Marshall Plan in Retrospect: A Review of Recent Scholarship," *Journal of International Affairs* 41 (Summer 1988):421-436.
22 "Alliance of English-Speaking People," speech delivered by Winston Churchill, at Westminister College, Fulton, Missouri, March 5, 1946, in *Vital Speeches*, 12(15 March 1946):329.
23 Robert Dallek, *The American Style of Foreign Policy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983): 157,169.
24 Michael Hogan, "The Search for a 'Creative Peace': The United States, European Unity, and the Origins of the Marshall Plan," *Diplomatic History* 6 (Summer 1982):267-286.
25 See Michael Hogan, "American Marshall Planners and the Search for a European Neocapitalism," *American Historical Review* 90 (February 1985):44-72; and, Michael Hogan, "Paths to Plenty: Marshall Planners and the Debate over European Integration, 1947-1948," *Pacific Historical Review* 53 (August

1984):337-366.
26 Bohlen, 262-3.
27 Forrest C. Pogue, *George C. Marshall: Statesman* (New York: Viking, 1987):197; Kennan, 325-326.
28 Memorandum by the Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs (Clayton), *Foreign Relations of the United States* (Hereafter cited as *FRUS*), 1947, III:230-231.
29 Memorandum by the Director of the Policy Planning Staff (Kennan), *FRUS*, 1947, III:220-221.
30 Undersecretary of State Dean G. Acheson's Address Before the Delta Council, Cleveland, Mississippi, May 8, 1947, as Appendix in Jones, 274-281.
31 ibid.
32 "Secretary of State George C. Marshall's Address at Harvard Commencement June 5, 1947," Appendix B, 99-102, in, Hoffman and Maier eds.
33 Adam Ulam, *The Rivals* (New York: Penguin Books, 1983 ed.)
34 Jones, 252-3;Byrnes, 308. The stipulations that the United States outlined included concrete evidence that recipients of Marshall Plan aid were constructing a free-market economy. American officials made it clear at Paris that they expected to be allowed to see first-hand evidence of this process.
35 John Lewis Gaddis, *The United States and the Origins of the Cold War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1972):356-357.
36 Ulam, 130, 136.
37 Walter Millis, *The Forrestal Diaries* (New York: Viking Press, 1951):282; Vandenburg, 385, 378.
38 Milward, 1989, 233.
39 Hogan, 1987, 190-191.
40 Dallek, 172; Armin Rappaport explores how rhetoric stressing idealism was used to sway Congress to approve Marshall Plan funding and to convince the American public of the virtues of the program; see Armin Rappaport, "The United States and European Integration: The First Phase," *Diplomatic History* 5 (Spring 1981):121-149.
41 US Economic Cooperation Act (Title One of the Foreign Assistance Act), Appendix A, in Pelling.
42 Williams, 13.
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46 Robert Donovan, *Conflict and Crisis: The Presidency of Harry S Truman* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1977): 280.
47 Truman, 109.
48 Bohlen, 266.
49 Hogan, 1987, 222-3, 294-5, 343.
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Africans and Native Americans as "Racial Deviants" in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Europe

Niobeh Crowfoot Tsaba

In this essay I propose to show that it was in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, rather than the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, that a cogent concept of human "races" first appears in early modern European thought.[1] This emerging idea of "race," though imbedded in notions that today would most likely be characterized as "cultural" (such as religious belief and practice, division of labor along gender lines, clothing, economic system, and sexual practices) rather than "racial," was very much associated with skin color. Additionally, because of the persistence of Greek, Judaic, and medieval Christian attitudes about skin color, guilt and sin, geographical distribution of various peoples, and the association of skin color and behavior with geography, non-white "races" that were not European in origin began to be viewed as "abnormal," or deviant in this period. Every society determines, in some way, what it considers to be "normal" and what is "deviant." For the peoples of Europe, this fundamental social dichotomy of normal/deviant had been characterized as "civilized/barbarian" or "Christian/heathen." The idea of "race" began to solidify in the fusing of the determinants of these older concepts into a single structure.

Increased social and geographical mobility in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and Europe's steadily more important participation in a world network of mercantile and

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slave trade with Asia, Africa, and finally the Americas, led a growing number of Europeans to have contact with people who differed from Europeans in ways that came to be identified as "racial." In looking at whether non-Europeans were considered "deviant" and treated "differently" because of their "racial" identity or for some other cultural reason, such as religion, sexual practice, or food and clothing during this period, it has been difficult to know where to draw the line. The difficulty, as well as the need to separate these factors, fades when one views the evidence that the structure of this new category of "race," and the racialist thinking that emerged with it, are partly the result of the collapsing of the old categories into a single new one that is a mixture of custom, religion, geography, and color.

The legacy of classical and medieval Christian thought that forms the foundation of sixteenth and seventeenth century European attitudes towards non-white, non-European peoples, and the complex of ways in which these older ideas are transformed and codified into conceptualizations of "race," are most clearly seen by examining European notions about Africans and Native Americans (Indians). The long period of contact between Europeans and Africans, since Greek and Roman antiquity, allowed certain concepts of the "primitive," "wild," "barbarian" or "heathen" to develop. Because there was no pre-existing geographical or racial domain in which to place the New World or its inhabitants, the "discovery" of Native Americans posed a number of serious, intellectual dilemmas to European thinkers. In these dilemmas, born of the ambivalence of the classical and medieval inheritance, the beginnings of the idea of non-white "races" as "deviant" emerged.

The Classical and Medieval Background

Concepts from classical and medieval geography, theology, and philosophy pervaded and helped to form early modern European attitudes about the racial differences between themselves and Africans and Native Americans. Many of the debates that ensued in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries over the legitimacy of the enslavement, mistreatment, Christian conversion, murder and conquest of Africans and Native Americans hinged on the finer points of interpreting classical and biblical texts that discussed non-Europeans.

The ancient Hellenic and Roman worlds vacillated between conceptualizing the world in two and in three conti-

nents. Hecataeus of Miletus (fl. 500 B.C.) describes only Europe and Asia; Europe, of course, was Greece, and Asia was what remained. The Mediterranean littoral of Africa, known to the Greeks as Libya, was then considered to be part of Asia. So the oldest division to the Greeks was between Greeks and "barbarians"--between West and East. Herodotus acknowledged a tripartite division of the habitable world, into Europe, Asia (largely identified with Persia), and Libya (Africa). Europe, that is to say, Greece, was the "civilized" world. Asia became associated with "lavish splendor," "vulgarity," and "despotism"--with all that was, ostensibly, not Greek. The Romans accepted the Greeks' three continents, renaming Libya "Africa," and extending their knowledge of Europe as they extended their control over Spain, Gaul, and Britain. "Asiatic," for the Romans, took on the additional pejorative literary meaning of "bombastic" or "overdone" writing.[2]

The assigning of group character to people on the basis of their geographical location, which would reach its peak in Europe in the late medieval and early modern periods, was already evident in the writings of Aristotle (fl. fourth century, B.C.). In *Politics*, he saw Greece as somewhat apart from Europe. As the "center of civilization" in the Hellenic world it was naturally seen as having the most favorable environment for humans:

> Those who live in a cold climate and in Europe are full of spirit, but wanting in intelligence and skill; and therefore they retain comparative freedom, but have no political organization, and are incapable of ruling over others. Whereas the natives of Asia are intelligent and inventive, but they are wanting in spirit, and therefore they are always in a state of subjection and slavery. But the Hellenic race, which is situated between them, is likewise intermediate in character, being high-spirited and also intelligent. Hence it continues free, and is the best-governed of any nation...[3]

The medieval conception of geography and the peoples who inhabited the world developed from Jewish, and then early Christian scriptural views in close contact with the Greco-Roman tradition.[4] The origins of the diversity of hu-

manity are described in the Judeo-Christian view in the ninth and tenth chapters of Genesis. The tenth chapter is primarily an elaboration of the dissemination of the progeny of the three sons of Noah to the corners of the habitable world. It is the ninth chapter, verses 18 through 27, that provides the framework for the peopling of the earth and subsequent discussion in the Bible of God's trouble with the inhabitants of various areas, such as the peoples of the Tower of Babel and Sodom and Gomorrah. It is in these verses that the inequality of different groups of people, closely tied to what is considered to be "deviant" behavior, first appears, in God's hierarchy of the son's of Noah:

> 18 The sons of Noah who went forth from the ark were Shem, Ham, and Japheth. Ham was the father of Canaan.
> 19 These three were the sons of Noah; and from these the whole earth was peopled.
> 20 Noah...planted a vineyard;
> 21 and he drank of the wine; and became drunk, and lay uncovered in his tent.
> 22 And Ham, the father of Canaan, saw the nakedness of his father, and told his two brothers outside.
> 23 Then Shem and Japheth took a garment, laid it upon both their shoulders, and walked backward and covered the nakedness of their father; their faces were turned away, and they did not see their father's nakedness.
> 24 When Noah awoke from his wine and knew what his youngest son had done to him,
> 25 he said, "Cursed be Canaan; a slave of slaves shall he be to his brothers."
> 26 He also said, "Blessed by the Lord my God be Shem; and let Canaan be his slave.
> 27 God enlarge Japheth and let him dwell in the tents of Shem;and let Canaan be his slave."[5]

This passage from Genesis contains many of the elements which Europeans habitually used to define non-Europeans. Ham is apparently guilty of having no shame, for he saw his father's nakedness, and instead of covering him, told his brothers outside. They, in turn, righted his wrong, and covered their father. The progeny of Ham, under the curse of Canaan, are relegated to the status of perpetual

slavery under the control of the progeny of the other two brothers. This biblical structure of morality and its punishment of perpetual slavery for transgressing it, combined with the Greco-Roman division of the habitable world into three continents provided the basis for European ideas about non-Europeans they encountered.

One of the first scholars to adapt this biblical material to the Hellenistic world view, and one of the earliest to refer to the precise continental locations of the progeny of the sons of Noah was Flavius Josephus, a Hellenized Jew who flourished in the second half of the first century, A.D. In the *Antiquities of the Jews* (A.D. 93) he wrote,

> Japheth...had seven sons; they inhabited... beginning at the mountains Taurus and Amanus, they proceeded along Asia, as far as the river Tanis, and along Europe to Cadiz; and settling themselves on the lands which they light upon, which none had inhabited before, they called the nations by their own names...
>
> The children of Ham possessed the land from Syria and Amanus, and the mountains of Libanus, seizing upon all that was upon its seacoasts and as far as the ocean, and keeping it as their own...of the four sons of Ham, time has not at all hurt the name of Chus; for the Ethiopians, over whom he reigned, are even at this day...called Chusites...Phut was also the founder of Libya...
>
> Shem...had five sons, who inhabited the land that began at the Euphrates, and reached to the Indian Ocean; for Elam left behind him the Elamites, the ancestors of the Persians. Ashur...named his subjects Assyrians...Aram had the Aramites, which the Greeks called Syrians...[6]

Josephus placed the three continents, Europe, Asia, and Africa, in a hierarchy with Europe in the dominant position, by virtue of their correlation with the biblical hierarchy of the three sons of Noah. This passage roughly identifies Europeans as the descendants of Japheth; in Genesis 9:27, Japheth is clearly intended to dominate over both his

brothers. The inhabitants of Asia are the descendants of Shem, whose tents Japheth's growing clan "may dwell in." The descendants of Ham, that is the descendants of Canaan, who are to be the slaves of both Japheth and Shem, are assigned to Libya, that is, to the known part of Northern Africa, along the Mediterranean. Africans, who do in fact become nearly universally enslaved, are clearly identified as the descendants of Ham/Canaan.

Ham is, as Hayden White has pointed out, one of the

> archetypal wild men of the Old Testament, great rebels against the Lord, the God-challengers...their offspring are the children of Babel, of Sodom and Gomorrah, a progeny that is known by its pollution. They are men who have fallen below the condition of animality itself; every man's face is turned against them, and in general...they can be slain with impunity.[7]

The association of this notion of Ham and his progeny as "wild" and "uncivilized," and "acting against God," with the idea that the descendants of Ham were Africans, and therefore "black" lead to the linking of "blackness" with "wildness," and with "sin." This was, of course, to have dire consequences with regard to social policies in European contact with non-white peoples.

Interpretations of the above passage in Genesis carried a lot of weight during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in legitimating the Atlantic slave trade and the conquest of Africa and the New World.[8] The Americas, of course, were unknown to the ancient Greeks and Romans. And Native Americans were not easily accounted for in the classical/biblical scheme of *three* continents and *three* sons of Noah. The several different sixteenth and seventeenth century views that the "Indians" present in the Americas were "abnormal," or "deviant" by European standards, *because of their race,* were formulated, as were those concerned with Africans, on reinterpretations of Genesis 9:9-10 (and other related verses about the dispersion of the nations and the deviance of the Canaanites) and a number of classical texts.

One of the strongest Christian influences from late antiquity on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century thought on the diversity of humanity was certainly Saint Augustine. Picking up threads of both Hellenic thought and Josephus-

like interpretations of Genesis, the sections of Augustine's *City of God Against the Pagans* where the sons of Noah are discussed further cast the descendants of Ham, who have already been identified as Africans and slaves, into an abyss where Christian love can not reach:

> ...Ham, whose name means 'Hot', Noah's middle son, distinguishing himself, as it were, from both the others, and placed midway between them, figuring neither among the first fruits of the Israelites, nor in the first harvest of the Gentiles, what does he signify but the hot breed of heretics?...It is not illogical, however, to consider Noah's middle son as a type not only of the most open dissenters, but of all who vaunt the name of Christian, despite the wickedness of their lives...Ham was cursed in his son's person...on the other hand, Shem and Japheth...denote circumcision and uncircumcision respectively, or as the Apostle identifies them... Jews and Greeks...[9]

There is an affirmation here that the descendants of Ham, that is Africans, are denied entrance to Augustine's "City of God" forever, that they are unredeemable. They are, as well, neither Jews nor Greeks, that is, they are not "civilized."

An example of this linkage of black skin with sin in widely read Christian theological writings of the late medieval period is the work of the English mystic Walter Hilton (1340-1396). In *The Ladder of Perfection,* an essay intended to give spiritual comfort to a friend, a "solitary nun," he wrote of confusing the outer appearance with the inner reality of a person, and succeeded in giving a picture of prevailing attitudes toward the color black and the state of the human soul:

> So the chosen soul is both lovely and ugly, and Holy Scripture says: I am black but lovely, daughters of Jerusalem...Meaning: do not despise me because I am black, for although my skin is as black as the tents of Kedar, inwardly I am lovely as the fleeces of Solomon... Kedar means black, and represents the devil: Solomon means peace, and represents our Lord Jesus Christ...

> ...Although my body is outwardly blackened by sin, like an unregenerate soul that is the dwelling of the devil, yet by faith and good will I am inwardly beautiful as an angel from heaven...a chosen soul, reformed in faith, inhabits this sinful body...and acts outwardly in the same way as an unregenerate soul, so that people cannot see any difference between them...One might almost say that a man in this state does not so much carry this sinful image as be carried by it...[10]

There is another element of classical and medieval philosophical and geographical thought which strongly bears on our discussion of early modern European perceptions of non-Europeans as inherently deviant--the so-called "Plinian Races."[11] This term was coined by John Friedman to refer to those semi-mythical peoples east of the Mediterranean to whom the ancient Greeks and Romans ascribed fantastic or monstrous characteristics. Inhabiting the outer frontiers of the known world, they were largely the product of European imaginations afraid of the unknown. There were improbable types such as *Cyclops* (with only one eye), *Sciopods* (with a large, misshapen foot used as an umbrella), and *Blemmyae* (with their faces in their chests and no neck or shoulders). Some of them, on the other hand, were quite recognizable as real human beings, but seen through an exoticised mind. There were the *Bragmanni*, or *Gymnosophisti* of India, living in caves and standing in unusual positions--they were clearly yogic Brahmans; there were Ethiopians, dark skinned peoples of no particular locale, as long as it was to the East or South, toward the equator; and there were various giants and pygmies.[12]

Of the medieval works which reflected the classic, Plinian view of human variation, the most widely read was *Travels*, ascribed to Sir John Mandeville. It began circulating in manuscript form in French and Anglo-Norman between 1356 and 1366. By 1400 it had appeared in every major European language. By the early sixteenth century there were a number of printed editions of the work as well. This work was part of a genre of travel literature written by real travelers, but embellished and validated by recourse to fantastic accounts from classical sources. The explorers Christopher Columbus and William Frobisher were known to have read it. Richard Hakluyt's first edition of *Principall*

navigations (1589) incorporated it, but the second edition (1598-1600) omitted it, reflecting a more critical assessment of Mandeville's work in light of more recent voyages.[13]

An important aspect of Mandeville's writing is that his narratives combine elements of both the civilized/barbarian and the Christian/heathen schemas, though color is not an over-riding concern yet. His *Travels* are partly the journey of a Christian pilgrim to the Catholic Holy Land and its surrounding environs. The "physical and cultural Greek image of difference" and the "metaphysical and moral Judeo-Christian image"[14] come together to set a tone that is carried directly into the sixteenth and seventeenth century justifications for colonization and slavery of Non-Europeans:

> This is the land that is promised to us as heritage;...each good Christian man who is able, and has the means, should set himself to conquer our inheritance, this land, the Holy Land, and chase out therefrom those who are misbelievers...if we be true children of Christ, we ought to lay claim to the heritage that our Father left to us, and win it out of strange men's hands.[15]

"Plinian Races" continued to be reported by fifteenth and sixteenth century European voyagers to Africa, Persia, and the Americas. But as more and more voyages were made and additional empirical evidence was gathered against their existence, their popularity in literature began to decline. There was, as John Friedman has stated, a "shedding of Plinian glasses" beginning in the sixteenth century. The fantastic played a diminishing role in analyzing the differences between peoples. But as the old categories were shed, they would be replaced with new ones, often synthesized out of the old ones--constructed out of the feedback between established notions and new experiences of the voyagers, and the economic and social desires of those in positions of power.

Africans and Native Americans as "Racial Deviants"

Early modern Europeans conceptualized non-Europeans as "deviants" due to characteristics that lie inside the parame-

ers of an emerging idea of "race." By examining European responses to both Africans and Native Americans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a number of fundamental elements of the white European perceptions of non-white, non-Europeans come to the fore, very much interdependent and still somewhat diffuse.

Because Africans were known to the classical world, there is a long history of European thought about their origins, characteristics and nature, and relationship to Europeans. The categories for Europeans and Africans also have a long history of dichotomy, reaching deeply into their biblical and classical origins. What is most obviously different between the *average* European and the *average* African in the classical period, in the sixteenth century, or today, is skin color. Frank Snowden has described ancient Greeks and Romans as measuring all people of color by the yardstick of the Ethiopians. In art and literature, the Ethiopian represented "blackness."[16] While there were certainly instances of white fear of and prejudice against the black color of Ethiopians in the classical world, there was a range of feeling, from fascination with the exotic, through normalcy, to dread. Snowden believes that a wide-spread, modern racial prejudice was not apparent.[17]

The early modern European inherited the medieval notion of black as representative of the Devil, the sinister, and the negative. White symbolized light, brightness, purity, and holiness. Taking this into account, the color of the Africans that Europeans saw in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, even with increased contact, could not go unnoticed. Sometimes it was the only feature of a people's appearance mentioned in a narrative, as in Englishman Richard Eden's account of M. Thomas Windam's voyage to Guinea and Benin in 1553: "The chief city of Ethiopia, where this great emperor is resident, is called Amacaiz, being a faire citie, whose inhabitants are the color of an Olive. There are also many other cities...."[18] The issue of color could not be avoided with regard to the African, even when saying little else.

The greatest contact that Europeans had with Africans during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was concerned with the Atlantic slave trade. In the fifteenth century the Portuguese began to trade slaves on the west coast of Africa. Close behind them were the French and the Castilians, and finally in the sixteenth century, the English. Black Africans had been used as slaves since at least classical antiquity, and

the biblical association of slavery with Ham and the Canaanites, and therefore with Africa, helped to legitimate continued and growing European enslavement of blacks in the early modern period.

There were widespread beliefs that black Africans were intellectually inferior and sexually depraved and violent, and therefore in need of civilizing and Christianizing, which could legitimately be achieved by enslavement. These ideas about intellectual inferiority and violent natures stemmed, in part, from environmentalist theories of human character, which assigned a sluggish intelligence and a libidinous appetite to those peoples closest to the equator, where it is the hottest--that is, to Africans.[19]

European attitudes about the origins and nature of the indigenous peoples of America were complicated by the need to fit the existence of a land mass (the Americas) and peoples into a geographical schema that only had three continents and a theological schema that only allowed for three basic types, or "races" of people, corresponding to the three sons of Noah. Theories about the origins of the peoples of the New World ranged from their being Carthaginians, Jews, or Chinese, to the Lost Tribes of Israel and the descendants of the Canaanites.[20] Adherents of these various theories kept up a running debate that began in 1492 and continued into the nineteenth century. The different degrees of deviancy from the European, white norm--"in the lineage of Japheth"--of Native Americans that is implied by the logical consequences of these varying theories of origin is paralleled by two simultaneous and contradictory views of the character of New World peoples. The image of the "bad Indian"[21] shares characteristics with the black African as a "wild" and "barbarian" creature: they were naked, lecherous, passionate, vain, constantly at war, cannibalistic, indolent, filthy, and idolatrous, or utterly without religion of any kind.[22]

The "good Indian," however, was a new image, a product of the ambivalence that Europeans felt about Indian origins and the persistence of the drawing of certain cultural parallels between the New World and India. This image, eventually becoming the "noble savage" of seventeenth and eighteenth century European literature, projected a people who were friendly, hospitable, handsome, with great stamina and endurance, calm and dignified even under torture, brave in war, independent, and great enjoyers of nature's bounty.[23] In this picture, the "Indian" falls somewhere between the Stoic and the Epicurean.

As Thomas Hahn has put it, Columbus, "and indeed, seemingly all Europeans, had programmed themselves to find...Indians."[24] Citing Dante's *Paradiso* and Mandeville's *Travels*, he has described a widespread European vision of an idealized *East* Indian as a "virtuous heathen," in much the same terms as the image of the "good Indian" above.[25] This image of a people "full of all vertue & they eschewen all vices" was partly superimposed on some of the New World peoples who did not exhibit some of the more unforgivable characteristics of human sacrifice and cannibalism. Both of these images present a "deviant" Indian--one in the older image of the deviant "barbarian," uncivilized and so unlike the European, and the other in the borrowed image of the East Indian, spiritually centered and without the vices and materialness that early modern Europeans feared in themselves. In both cases, the image stands against the Europeans image of themselves, whether in a negative or a positive vein.

Europeans experienced the belief systems of non-white, non-Europeans they came into contact with as deviant, meaning in this instance "heretical," "heathen," or "idolatrous." Andre Thevet, the geographer for France's King France I, writing in the 1570s, expressed the prevailing European attitude about African animism at that time, that, "...if there ever was abominable idolatry, brutish superstition and ignorance, you will find it among these poor people...This people is so stupid, bestial, and blinded by folly that it accepts as divinity the first thing it encounters in the morning when it wakes up."[26] In *The Natural and Moral History of the Indies* (1588), by the Spanish Jesuit Joseph de Acosta, all of Book V, thirty-one chapters in all, are devoted to explanations of the "idolatry and superstition" of the Peruvians he visited from 1571-1587, and the "labours of Satan and the Devill" among them.[27] The English opinion of the spiritual side of Native Americans was much the same, with Samuel Purchas stating in *Hakluytus Pothumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes* (1625) that the natives of Virginia were

> ...so bad a people, having little of humanitie but shape, ignorant of Civilitie, of the Arts, of Religion; more brutush than the beasts they hunt, more wild and unmanly then that unmanned wild countrey, which they range rather than inhabit; captivated also to Satans tyranny

> in foolish pieties, mad impieties, wicked idelness, busie and bloudy wickednesse.[28]

It is clear that Europeans considered non-white, non-Europeans to deviate substantially from the European norm in regards to religious belief and practice.

The color and cultural characteristics of non-Europeans, combined with classical and medieval preconceptions that informed white European contact with non-white others, to create, in many instances, images of black Africans and Native Americans that were actually "non-human." For instance, the Frenchman Francois Bernier published an article in the *Journal des savans* in 1684 in which his belief that Africans were a separate species from white Europeans was supported by the fact that

> If a black African pair be transported to a cold country, their children are just as black, and so are all descendants until they come to marry with white women. The cause must be sought for in the peculiar texture of their bodies, or in the seed, or in the blood.[29]

The author in this passage is clearly challenging an environmentalist theory of skin color. That he was providing support for the idea of black Africans being a separate species from white Europeans is all the more remarkable considering what was known about breeding farm animals at the time--that, for instance, cows of different colors were all still cows, and that you can alter the color of a line of offspring of a cow by breeding it with a cow of a different color.

Non-humanity in voyage narratives often took the form of expectations shaped by classical/medieval mythologies about "Plinian races" or signs of the devil in non-white peoples. There is a famous account of the British members of "The second voyage of Master Martin Frobisher to the...West and Northwest Regions...1577...." After successfully repelling an attack by a group of Eskimos off Baffin Island, the party found an old woman left behind in the melee and suicides that followed because of her age. They thought she was quite peculiar, assigning the characteristics of an animal, or the devil, to her: "The old wretch, whom divers of our Saylers supposed to be either a devill, or a witch, had her buskins plucked off, to see if she were cloven footed, and

for her ougly hew and deformity we let her goe."[30] Previously, the group of Eskimos that Frobisher's men fought had been described as being "altogether voyd of humanity."[31] Either these men were expecting to find cloven feet on this particular group of people, or the old woman's color was such that they associated her with the devil.[32] In any case, she in particular, and her people in general, were perceived as "less than human" by the landing party.

The "primitive" nature of the housing, food procurement, clothing, systems of government, and sexual practices of black Africans and Native Americans, as Europeans generally saw them, defined them as "deviant," and helped to define each group as "a race apart." The repercussions of this attitude were to be the steady encroachment of Europeans onto African and Native American lands, buoyed by a secure belief in the superiority of Western European approaches to all aspects of living. Their assumed inferiority became the standard justification for conquest and genocide. Puritan John Winthrop believed his group had a right to the land of the Indian inhabitants he found on the Atlantic coast because "...they enclose noe land, neither have any settled habytation, nor any tame cattle to improve the Land by and soe have noe other but a Natural Right to those Countries, so as if we leave them sufficient for their own use, we may lawfully take the rest, their being more than enough for them, and us...."[33]

Even when willing to adopt European ways of living, and to convert to Christianity, non-white peoples were subjected to harsh, chattel slavery, and other, slower-acting, dehumanizing conditions. In Barbados, as elsewhere in the New World, the prevailing wisdom was that, "...the Negros and Indians...they and the generation are slaves to perpetuity."[34] The linkage with the perpetual slavery of the progeny of Ham in Genesis is unmistakable. The issue of slavery, vital to the very enterprise of the Europeans in the New World, was ultimately to be the subject of the only systematic discussion of Europeans' relationship with non-European peoples in the period under discussion.

In 1550, at Valladolid, in Castile, a "Council of the Fourteen was called by Charles V to debate the issue of whether Native Americans were "natural slaves," by Aristotle's definition, and therefore subject to conversion to Christianity and enslavement using extreme force under a system of hereditary bondage (usually limited to only two or three generations) called *encomienda.* There had been a war

of words for some time between the two key players in the debate. Bartolome de las Casas, believed in the "Christian redemption" of the peoples of the Americas by teaching through example--a way he felt was in the true Christian spirit. His opponent was Juan Gines de Sepulveda, who utilized Aristotle's *Politics* for his support. The whole story is a long and complicated one. The result of the year and a half of debates was that no firm decision was reached--but Church policy began to shift in favor of a more humane, educational approach to the missionary and "civilizing" efforts of the Catholic Church in Spanish America.[35]

The images of Africans and Native Americans in literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries suffer from the same types of stereotyping--they are written as "types," rather than characters. The image of the African's blackness had been a part of English theatre since the medieval mummers plays. The face was blackened for grotesque decorative effect, or to indicate that the scene was "fantastic," or "exotic"--that is turned around from its "normal" situation. This practice continued in sixteenth and seventeenth century English pageants and in masques at the English courts of Edward, Elizabeth I and James.[36]

Africans portrayed on stage were either "black Moors" --villainous and cruel and always black--or "white Moors," where blackness was deemphasized. They were "tawny"--and dignified, despotic, and noble.[37] Shakespeare's Othello signified a new character, perhaps the first black "character." Instead of a type, his character signifies not so much his personal weakness, not the personal "sin of his skin," but rather the all too universally painful condition of simply being human.[38]

Images of Native Americans in literature were much more ambivalent than those of Africans tended to be. The "good Indian" and the "bad Indian" images crystallized into two foils for internal European critiques of current European society. Both images, as with the images of the African as a despotic King, or a barbarian wildman, were dependent on whatever European characteristics were "missing" in the Indian person. If the aim of the writer is to convey the reader back to a Golden Age of Perfection, from which even white Europeans have fallen, then the image of the "noble savage"--the "good Indian" is evoked. If the goal was to frighten the reader into seeing the slippage of the European way of life and mend his own, then the "bad Indian" image was useful as a concrete example of the degradation of a fall

into "pagan barbarism."[39]

The European attitude towards non-white, non-European peoples in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was clearly that they were "deviant"--they were not European/Christian/ "white." Individual "cultural" characteristics, including nakedness, as well as physical characteristics such as skin color and hair texture were the components of an emerging idea of "racial" differences. In European accounts of Africans and Native Americans, the congruence of discussions of skin color, body type, hair texture, and decorative traditions with those of various kinds of "deviancy," such as physical deformity, violence, cannibalism, or the simple status of being a slave, supports the idea that non-white races were, in themselves, deviant in the European mind, *because of their race/color/culture.*

"Race" was an emerging concept throughout sixteenth and seventeenth century Europe. In order to better understand the intellectual context of the development of late-eighteenth and nineteenth century "scientific" concepts of "race," historians must push their notion of the concept back into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and farther, and take it on its own terms. Because this earlier conceptualization of "races" took place within the context of European discovery of their "European-ness," through contact with increasing numbers of non-Europeans that was combined with a re-aquaintance with classical and medieval writings, skin color and other physical characteristics were intertwined with other "cultural" characteristics. During this period "non-white races" were perceived as deviant--abnormal--because they did not conform, or perform, according to an increasingly more well-defined European and "white" norm. This "early modern" European concept of "race," arising in the midst of current concepts of deviancy, awaits further, more detailed investigation into its origins, applications, and social and intellectual consequences.

NOTES

1 The modern idea of "race" predates its late eighteenth and nineteenth century modern forms, which were largely dependent on emerging scientific explanations of human origins and development. Historians unable to free themselves of a bias toward these early scientific definition of race have been unable to see existing clear indications of the emergence of the idea in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. The following is a sample of

those who have at least admitted that the sixteenth century is where one must start to look for the origins of the modern idea of race: George M. Frederickson, *White Supremacy: A Comparative Study of American and South African History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), 9; Reginald Horseman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), 9; and Nancy Stephen, *The Idea of Race in Science: Great Britain, 1800-1960* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1982), xi-xii, passim. The major research for placing the origins of the Euro-American idea of "race" in the sixteenth century (or earlier) has yet to be done. For an exploratory essay see Niobeh Crowfoot Tsaba, "Travel Literature and the Roots of Elizabethan Racial Thinking, 1558-1603," unpublished paper (1989). Although the above examples, including my paper, deal specifically with the developments in English attitudes, the arguments are clearly extendable to all of sixteenth century Europe.

2 Denys Hay, *Europe: The Emergence of an Idea* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1957), reprinted by Harper Torchbooks (New York), 1966, 2-4.

3 Aristotle, *Politics* 1327b, in *The Complete Works of Aristotle* (The Revised Oxford Translation), edited by Jonathan Barnes, Volume II (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 2107.

4 Denys Hay, *Europe*, op. cit., 7.

5 Genesis 9:18-27, *The New Oxford Annotated Bible with the Apocrypha*, Revised Standard Version, edited by Herbert G. May and Bruce M. Metzger (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973, 1977 [1962], 11-12.

6 Flavius Josephus, *The Antiquities of the Jews*, in *The Works of Flavius Josephus*, translated from the original Greek by William Whiston (Philadelphia, PA: Porter and Coates, 1860), Book I, Chapter VI, 47-48. This entire chapter is an attempt to correlate, in minute detail, the children of the sons of Noah with all of the different peoples known to Josephus (47-49).

7 Hayden White, "The Forms of Wildness: Archeology of an Idea", 3-38, in Edward Dudley and Maximillian E. Novak, eds., *The Wild Man Within: An Image in Western Thought from the Renaissance to Romanticism* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1972), 14.

8 The book of the Bible that generated the most commentaries during the Renaissance was, in fact, Genesis. Arnold Williams has discussed the great literary and cultural "superstructure" that was constructed on the framework of what he refers to as the "Genesis material," a great elaboration on the text itself. Such diverse writers as Shakespeare, Raleigh, and Purchas grounded their work on current social concepts rooted in the Genesis commentaries. See Arnold Williams, *The Common Expositor: An Account of the Commentaries on Genesis, 1527-1633* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1948), 3-4.

9 Saint Augustine, *The City of God Against the Pagans*, Volume V, with an English translation by Eva Matthews Sanford and William McAllen Green (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1965), 16.2:5-9. Hayden White has suggested (without giving a source) that ancient Hebrew had a common or related roots for the words for Ham, the color black, Egypt (bondage), Canaan (idolatry), and fertility. See Hayden White, op. cit., 15.

10 Walter Hilton, *The Ladder of Perfection*, translated by Leo Sherley-Price, with an introduction by Clifton Wolters (New York: Penguin, 1988 [1957]), II.12:135-136.
11 It was the Roman Pliny's "accounts" of them that were so widely read and imitated through the medieval period, hence the term "Plinian Races."
12 John Block Friedman, *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), 5-18, passim.
13 *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, translated with an introduction by C.W.R.D. Mosely (New York: Penguin Books, 1983), "Introduction," 30.
14 Hayden White, op. cit., 10.
15 *Travels*, op. cit., 44.
16 Frank M. Snowden, *Blacks in Antiquity: Ethiopians in the Greco-Roman Experience* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, Harvard University Press, 1970), 2.
17 Ibid., 176-183.
18 Richard Eden, "A voiage made out of England unto Guinea and Benin in Affrike, at the charges of certain marchants Adventurers of the Citie of London, in the yeere of our Lord 1553", 141-154, in Richard Hackluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation*, Volume VI (New York: Macmillan, 1904), 145.
19 Jean Bodin, *The Six Bookes of the Commonweale*, edited and with an introduction by Kenneth Douglas McRae (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962), the Fifth Book, Chapter 1, 554- 555: "...And they which...drawing towards the South [are] more sanguin and melancholike: fo[r] their complexion is more blacke and yellow, blacke being the color of melancholy and yellow of *choler*...the people of the North are not malitious nor craftie, as the nations of the South be...the people of the South are cruell and reuengeful, by reason of melancholie, which doth inflame the passions of the soule with an exeeding violence, the which is not easily suppressed..." Bodin's summation of environmentalist theories of the origins of cultures had great currency in the late sixteenth century, in all areas of exploration, colonization, and the slave trade.
20 Don Cameron Allen, *The Legend of Noah: Renaissance Rationalism in Art, Science, and Letters* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1963), 121. For a detailed treatment of sixteenth and seventeenth century theories of the origins of New World peoples, see Lee Eldridge Huddleston, *Origins of the American Indians: European Concepts, 1492-1729* (Austin, TX: Published for the Institute of Latin American Studies by the University of Texas Press, 1967).
21 The Spanish referred to all peoples that inhabited the New World, on both sides of the Americas, including Haiti and the Philippines, as *Indios*, or Indians. See Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Vintage (A Division of Random House), 1979 [1978]), 5. The term "Indian" is adopted here to reflect the united view of Europeans that the New World was the "Western Indies."
22 Ibid., 28.
23 Ibid.
24 Thomas Hahn, "Indians East and West: Primitivism and Savagery in English Discovery Narratives of the Sixteenth Century", 77-114, *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 8.1 (Spring 1978):77.

25 Ibid., 80.
26 Andre Thevet, *Cosmographie universelle*, edited by Georges Musset (Paris, 1544), 52, quoted in William B. Cohen, *The French Encounter with Africans: White Response to Blacks, 1530-1880* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1980), 15-16.
27 Joseph de Acosta, *The Natural and Moral History of the Indies* (1588), reprinted from the English translated edition of Edward Grimston (1604), edited with notes and an introduction by Clements R. Markham (New York: Burt Franklin, 1970 [1880]), Volume I: *The Natural History*, i-ix; Volume II: *The Moral History*, 296-389.
28 Quoted in Robert F. Berkhofer, op. cit., 21.
29 Quoted in William B. Cohen, op. cit., 12. It is difficult to make a certain judgement about the intentions of the author, because the context of the quotation -- the surrounding text that ostensibly states the argument for which this passage was the evidence -- was unavailable to me.
30 Dionise Settle, "The second voyage of Master Martin Frobisher, made to the West and Northwest Regions in the yeere 1577, with a description of the Countrey", 211-231, in Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations Voyages Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation* (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, publishers to the University, 1905), 7: 220. It is unclear in this passage if the party let the woman go because they felt sorry for her because of her age (they took as prisoners a young woman with a small child) or because they felt she was too "ougly" and strange to be bothered with.
31 Ibid.
32 The devil in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was often described, as it had been for centuries, as both as black man and as a creature that was partly animal and partly human. Norman Cohn's *Europe's Inner Demons: An Enquiry Inspired by the Great Witch-Hunt* (New York: New American Library, 1975), for instance, contains numerous examples of the representation of the devil as a black person: "...the Devil would appear to them, sometimes as a Negro, and sometimes as an angel of light..." (20); "The biography of St. Afra, which belongs to the period between 700 and 850, already shows Satan in the form that was to become standard in the later Middle Ages: pitch-black, naked and covered with a wrinkled skin..." (69); "...that private demon of Lady Alice's, who appeared sometimes in the guise of a cat, sometimes in the guise of a shaggy black dog, sometimes in the guise of a Negro..." (199); and in a detail of the beliefs of a magistrate who hunted witches, "...the initial appearance of the Devil in the form of a black man..." (137). The "hew" of the Eskimo woman could have been dark enough to trigger a response to her as though she had been a "black devil."
33 John Winthrop, "Reasons to be Considered", quoted in G.E. Thomas, "Puritans, Indians, and the Concept of Race", 3-27, *The New England Quarterly*, 48.1 (March 1975):10.
34 G.E. Thomas, op. cit., 24.
35 For a full treatment of this rather complicated episode in Spanish-American intellectual history see Lewis Hanke, *Aristotle and the American Indians: A Study in Race Prejudice in the Modern World* (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1959).

36 Eldred Jones, *Othello's Countrymen: The African in English Renaissance Drama* (London: Oxford University Press, published on behalf of Fourah Bay College, The University College of Sierra Leone, 1965), 28-31.
37 Ibid., 49.
38 Ibid., 87.
39 Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., op. cit., 26-31.

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NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

The Heart To Rule: Election Documents in Yucatec Maya of 1612, 1706 and 1812

Matthew Restall

The analysis of a few isolated notarial documents such as these is in some sense a spurious exercise. The historian pretends to glean data from these folios alone, when in reality he is relying on a body of primary and secondary material that, were it properly referenced and introduced as evidence for otherwise suppositious statements, would enlarge the work from Notes and Documents to book scale.

This may be less of a concern in the case of Maya-language notarial manuscripts from colonial Yucatán. Unlike Nahuatl-language sources, which have been extensively published and analyzed, allowing for the emergence of clearly-defined historical patterns for Central Mexico, Yucatán's indigenous language material has yet to be comprehensively studied. Roys (1939 et al.) transcribed and translated an impressive quantity of Maya manuscripts, but his analysis remained nascent; Thompson (1978) has shown how significant a window onto Maya society documents from one town and one century alone can be, but his achievement, still just in dissertation form, reveals how much is left to do; Hunt (1974), Clendinnen (1987) and especially Farriss (1984) have gone a long way to creating a coherent picture of the Maya, but none have published work based on sources written by the indigenous people in their own language.

The following comments, impossible without the knowledge of these works of scholarship, have also been influenced by preliminary explorations through a jungle of several hundred other Maya notarial documents, a thorough study of which may confirm some of the theories below, and will no doubt reveal the hopeless naivety of some others.

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Elections. It is in the sheer uneventfulness of the record of the Ticul election, presumably taking place in December of 1611, that its significance lies. It is so often the case that the everyday notarial records of cabildo and personal legal business are lost. Perhaps never having made it out of the *cah*, or community, where they were drawn up, such documents fail to be protected by archival obscurity from the ravages of time. Disputes over land or, in this case, political office, are generators of paperwork, and thus have a better chance of surviving, although not always case-intact. Petitions too will often make it to the provincial (even viceregal) capital, as they must if they are to be successful. But these record exceptional circumstances. Only by extrapolation, by hypothesizing the assumptions made by the parties at the time, can we determine what normal practice was, and discover what was to them too obvious to be written down.

So what is important about the simple list of officers made in 1612? Is not the list of the 1706 manuscript more comprehensive? Yes, but it does not prove whether an annual list of officers was or was not made in Tekanto. The original 1612 record only implies this was the case in Ticul, but does not state it.

Fortuitously, the 1612 entry was copied down in 1801 as part of the compilation of evidence in the lawsuit over the Sabacche land tract. This dispute, between a Spanish settler and a local Maya family named Tzakum, lasted from 1791 to 1820, when the European finally won. The case generated 188 folios in Spanish and 19 in Maya. Why the 1612 election record was copied down is not clear, but the copier, a notary named Juan Ventura Dzul, states that he was faithfully copying from the town election book. I know of no such book surviving for any Yucatec town, although no doubt some have. However, Tekanto did have a testament book, which was a town record of all wills, inspected periodically by a visiting Spanish church official. Thus Tekanto, as well as Ticul, may have kept an election book. It may in fact have been common practice wherever records were kept in colonial Yucatán.

The accuracy of the word election to describe the process of political accession or appointment among the colonial Maya is dubious. I use the word because the Maya themselves use it, in loan-word form (*u libroil elecon*, the election book, 1612; *u thanil elecçion*, the election statement, 1707), presumably because that was the term used by the Spanish authorities. Indeed, in the Spanish translation

of the 1812 petition, the word election is used. However, the Maya version does not at that point use election, but instead uses a Maya term (*ālic*). I take *ā* to be *aa*, and therefore the verb *aal*, or *al*, to say or command. The Pio Perez dictionary records the single and double *a* versions with the same meaning, but there seems to be more nuance than that. It is true that colonial notaries seemed to use single or double vowels according to their own rules or mood, yet I suspect that there were regional and temporal variations that scholars in this country have yet to fathom. Still, I cannot recall seeing the verb *al* as *aal* when it meant unequivocally say or order. Furthermore, the verb also appears in the 1612 document below, with a double *a* (*beluaalob*), and in the same context as its use of 1812, namely that of the appointment of political officers (*bel* means office, tenure, occupation).

I have therefore translated the word in these two instances as appointment, bearing in mind the semantic relationship of the usage to what we would call command or order. This is significant, as the official process was, from the Spanish end at least, appointment by command. It may have been an election from the Maya end in the strict sense of the word, a choosing, but not in the democratic sense implied in modern usage. Whether the Maya use of the term *aal* pre-dates the Conquest or not is uncertain. Broadly speaking, the indigenous method of election involved a gathering of the principal men of the community at which a decision would be made and appointments confirmed and ritualized. This tradition was pre-Hispanic in Central and Southern Mexico, and was possibly pan-Mesoamerican. Within that basic pattern there were sub-systems of rotation based on calendrical cycles and the subunits of geopolitical jurisdiction, overlaid with the manoevering and factionalism fundamental to human political systems.

The details of this in Yucatán have yet to be explored beyond the preliminary findings of Thompson (1978). In terms of the documents below, we may suppose that the 1612 entry records a year in which officers were chosen by the Maya and successfully submitted for approval to the Spanish authorities. Any systematic rotation or wheeling-and-dealing remains hidden. The 1812 petition refers to an election that has taken place, presumably two months earlier, in December 1811, and also includes the presentation of three replacement candidates for the governorship of the town. The manner of presentation indicates one way in which the Maya worked the

system to their advantage, for the dice are clearly loaded in favor of Rafael Tzin. The underlining of his name was presumably made when, several months later, Tzin is confirmed as the replacement *batab*, as discussed below. Royal gubernatorial ratification of candidates chosen by the Maya would have been pro forma; Spanish officials knew little of local Maya affairs and were motivated to complicate neither local politics nor their own jobs. Thus the Maya petitioners get their way, and the Spanish authorities can continue to enjoy the three-century-old delusion that they understand and control indigenous politics.

The petition of 1812 indicates remarkable continuity in a number of ways, not least of which is the implication that the Maya are still choosing officials for their own cabildo, and submitting them to the Spanish authorities for ratification, and still engaging in a factional politics that periodically disturbs the surface of the system. Spanish records show that Maya claims of senility among their *batabs* were rampant in the early generations after the Conquest. There is no doubt that the Maya immediately learned how to work within and exploit the Spanish legal system to their advantage. It seems that in 1812 they may have still been employing the same tactics. If so, the allegedly-senile *batab* of Xcupilcacab had insufficient power to muster a petition of protest. The Rafael Tzin faction certainly seems to have won the support of all the town's alcaldes and regidores.

The Spanish documentation that has survived with the petition dates from between January 27 and April 20, 1812. The earliest refers to a previous petition by Xcupilcacab requesting the removal of the *batab*, Don Manuel Na, on the grounds of age and also his alleged treatment of all the inhabitants as though they were his personal vassals. This latter accusation no doubt gets closer to the truth, introducing as it does an internecine element, but perhaps for this very reason it does not make it to the petition of February 15th. The earlier petition also apparently mentions the same three replacement candidates and also in a way that favors Rafael Tzin, who by April 17 is approved in office. The Xcupilcacab Maya achieved their end via the Spanish legal system with unusual speed.

Political Title and Office. The examples below illustrate the dual usage of Maya and Spanish titles of office. This phenomenon lasted throughout the colonial period, as a hangover from the phase of transition immediately after the Conquest when the Spanish political frame was being im-

posed on the indigenous one. Only in this initial phase did the existence of two titles systems indicate two systems of office. By the time of all the documents below, one system was in operation, albeit one that was perceived differently by Maya and Spaniard. Thus the royal governor of the province is called such in the 1706 document, but in 1812 he is referred to as *halach uinic*, the pre-Conquest title for the highest political officer in the land.

In the sixteenth century the Maya community head, the *batab*, exists uneasily alongside the Spanish cognate, the *gobernador*. The two offices merge by the time of our first example below, 1612, and the term *batab* becomes standard--although note that in 1706 the abbreviation *gor* is used.

The 1706 document is unusual in a number of ways. First, it records an unusual event: The appointment of a Spaniard to the post of *batab*. Of the three hundred odd notarial documents from colonial Tekanto that I have seen, this is the only instance I noticed where the governor or *batab* had a Spanish surname. This Don Agustin de Palensuela is called *almehen*, the Maya term for noble not usually used to denote Spaniards, and also capitan, a Spanish title used later by mestizo *batabs*. This points to him being a mestizo, although he is also called *señor*, never a Maya title, so he was probably considered a Spaniard by the Spanish and Maya authorities, albeit a local Spaniard.

When I discussed this document with Thompson, he hypothesized that the Spanish authorities had imposed Don Agustin on Tekanto as a result of a factional dispute among the Maya principales that had prevented them from choosing and presenting a single candidate. This makes a lot of sense. In order for a colonial minority to govern the province against overwhelming demographic odds, it was essential to maintain some sort of *pax hispania*. There are also recorded cases from the first six decades after the Conquest of the Spanish authorities imposing governors on Maya communities in order to forcibly resolve local succession disputes. This often produced Maya protests against parvenus, as the Spanish, despite their acceptance in principle of a Maya aristocracy, used their position as power-broker to undermine the authority of local dynasties that were perceived as potentially threatening to colonial hegemony. This involved not only appointing noble Maya to posts outside their traditional territory of communities, but also elevating Maya who were considered socially inadequate by their fellow townsmen.

It is interesting to note that, as late as 1706, a

Spaniard is being imposed as governor on a Maya community. Palensuela may have served for a year, or until the dispute was resolved. He had been replaced by 1724, to be sure, and records from then on are sufficiently extant to be certain that this did not happen again in this town.

The 1706 record also demonstrates how the entire body of principal men continued to participate in community politics, as they had done before the Conquest. Whereas most documents also list the primary offices--*batab, alcaldes, regidores* and the *escribano* or notary--we see here a plethora of Spanish titles being employed as a mechanism of inclusion. This is an area that needs to be studied further: how prestigious, for example, were all these titles, and did they relate to specific duties? The answers are clear in regards to the notary, and the *maestro,* who was the senior official in the local Maya ecclesiastical hierarchy. Why a sum of six pesos is listed after the maestro's name is not clear. Perhaps he received a stipend, although the offices of alcalde and regidor often *costed* their recipients. The *tupil doctrina* (*tupil* being a Nahuatl-based word introduced by the Spanish) was junior to the maestro, just as the *alcalde meson* and *alguaciles* in the 1706 list were on a tier junior to the mayordomo, regidores and alcaldes (Farriss: 231-7; Roys, 1940: 39-40; Thompson: 257-366).

The standard numbers for the primary offices are illustrated in these three documents, as are some of the variations and complexities of political tenure among the colonial Maya. The norm was four regidores, as we see here every time this office is listed (1612, 1801, 1706 and for 1707, 1812), and two alcaldes (1612, 1706 and for 1707, 1812). The significance of these numbers is clearly related to the quadripartite division of Maya towns that existed before the Conquest and survives to this day. However, one link in the chain has yet to be proven. We know that the Maya considered the regidores to be the equivalent of the pre-Hispanic *ahcuchcab*--the two titles appear beside each other in sixteenth-century records, and then as one in the seventeenth. The pre-Hispanic *ahcuchcab* were each responsible for a subunit or jurisdiction of the *cah*. Were the colonial *ahcuchcab,* the regidores, also organized along geopolitical lines? That is the missing link.

There was no clear antecedent to the office of alcalde, but because the Spaniards ranked alcaldes as senior to regidores, Maya alcaldes seem to have inherited the status of cah-wide executive or judicial officers immediately beneath the

batab. Indeed, for 1801 in Ticul there is only one alcalde, but, as becomes common by the turn of the nineteenth century, a lieutenant is also listed. It may be that, to maintain the same numbers, the office of lieutenant in some towns replaced that of senior alcalde, which is the office immediately below batab anyway. Note, however, that in Xcupilcacab in 1812, there are two alcaldes *and* a lieutenant.

Language. The study of language as a barometer of acculturation has been exploited in scientific detail by Kartunnen and Lockhart (1976) and Lockhart (forthcoming) for Nahuatl, and Kartunnen has published a comparitive study of Nahuatl and Yucatec Maya and the impact upon them of Spanish (1985). The Maya part of this latter work is based on a few texts, and the conclusions are preliminary, leaving much to be done in this area. Still, it requires little philological expertise to see that in the examples below, first, the impact of Spanish is minimal in terms of vocabulary, and second, there is little change between the earlier and later examples.

Although the 1612 example is barely one line, the impression given by these documents is one of remarkable continuity and cultural resilience. Such an impression would be accurate. Compared against the schema developed by Kartunnen and Lockhart (1976) that reduces mutation and hispanization in Nahuatl to three stages, the Maya below of 1812 is still in Stage Two, which, in Central Mexico, ended around 1640. In fact, this early nineteenth-century Maya seems barely even Stage Two, which Lockhart describes as being characterized by the borrowing of Spanish words "readily and copiously" (forthcoming: 13). Spanish loanwords in the 1812 text seem short of copious; the petitioners even avoid the use of the word *elecçion*, which has been in their language for at least two centuries.

But judged by Lockhart's specific criteria for Nahuatl, this is Stage Two indigenous material. The words that have been loaned describe elements introduced by the Spaniards (in Stage One the Nahuas had resorted to using term-compilations and various kinds of neologisms; the Maya too went through such a stage, over before the time of our first document below). The examples from all the documents below fall less in the category of new material objects than in the context of Spanish methods of measurement and organization. The introduction of the Roman alphabet, Spanish book-keeping and Spanish currency lead to *letrail*, *libroil* and *cafirma*, and *peso*. The date is always in Spanish, whilst

words for year (*hab*) and day (*helel*, today) remain Maya. Yucatán is referred to as such, and as the province (*promiçiasil*). Office names reflect the imposition of Spanish organization onto a similar pre-existing system, and the subsequent conceptual reconciliation of the two over time, as discussed above. Because the city of Mérida was built on the site of the Maya town of Tiho, the Maya continued to call it Tiho into the twentieth century; in 1707 we see *merida tiho*, but in 1801 simply *t ho* (*t* or *ti* is the locative preposition, and as such can be removed from a place-name, to leave *ho* or *kanto*).

Another criterion for classifying these texts is the level of grammatical change, which here is virtually nil. All the loans are nouns, and are treated as Maya nouns, given, for example, the *-il* ending of a possessed noun. In the case of *cafirma*, the Spanish noun for signature appears to be treated as a Maya verb and placed after a subject pronoun (we sign)--although the distinction in Maya between nouns and verbs is blurred even when existent, and the same prefixes function as subject and possessive pronouns. Likewise there are also examples below of loans with the Maya plural *-ob*.

In effect these loans cease to be Spanish words, and become Maya ones, not only in sense of their grammatical treatment, but also in their pronunciation. The same applies to the Christian names used by the Maya. Because there was no written language as such, and the notary attempted to record simply what was being said, the spelling of loan-words lends a marvelous insight into the usage of such terms. The Maya lacked r, but had r, as illustrated by the spelling *mayol*. No new sounds were created, but letters were added or dropped until the word was comfortably Mayanized. *Provincia* thus becomes, with its possessed ending, *promiçiasil*. In other documents this word will appear in different form, as the adaptation was not always standard. (Some words seemed to defy adaptation; I have noted nine different spellings of *conosimiento* in Maya documents from Tekanto alone.)

The documents. The transcriptions are my own. In particular the 1706 document, which is in poor condition, exhibits paleographic problems. I also take responsibility for all translation errors, whilst being grateful to Marta Hunt and James Lockhart for their assistance with the translating of the 1706 and 1812 documents, to Tulane University for access to the 1612 and 1812, and to Victoria Bricker for access to the 1706.

Sabacche f.62 1612/1801

Election of Officers in Ticul for 1612

Beluaalob utial haab de mil seiscientos y dose años uay ti Auda Sn Anto ticul

Gaspar coba Dn Diego Chable Matias chable

Alonso chuc Batab Franco Ku

Alcs Antonio Pedro coba esno

Gaspar Uc

Diego tzun Regs

toon Batab the Jusas Regs y lix esno uay ti auda Sn Anto ticul lic alic than t ho chahi u elecl hab de mil seis cientos y dose hebix yanil ychil u libroil elecon ti maix hunpel uletrail tin luksah maix tin >ah xan lay uhahil uay ti auda yanix cafirma yalan cabal helel en 28 de 9bre de 1801

franco kuyoc Capn Dn Mdo Camal Calisto Noh

Manl chan Batab Alcd

Pedro Ytza Agustin Canche the Juan ventra >ul

Silvtre may Regs esno

The appointment of officers for the year 1612 here at the court of San Antonio Ticul:
Gaspar Coba, Alonso Chuc, Alcaldes; Don Diego Chable, Batab; Antonio Pedro Coba, Notary; Matias Chable, Francisco Ku, Gaspar Uc, Diego Tzun, Regidores.

We the Batab, Lieutenant, Justices, Regidores and also the notary, here of the court of San Antonio Ticul, take to Mérida the ordering of the election of the year 1612, as it appears in the election book. I neither took away nor added a single letter. This is the truth. Here at the court, we sign below, today, the 28th of September, 1801.
Francisco Kuyoc, Manuel Chan, Pedro Itza, Silvestre May, Regidores; Capitan Don Menehildo Camal, Batab; Agustin Canche, Lieutenant; Calisto Noh, Alcalde; Juan Ventura Dzul, Notary.

Tekanto f.29 1706

Election of Officers in Tekanto for 1707

uay ti cah santo agustin tekanto u tabal[?].. gouer[nador] merida tiho u hol u promiçiasil yucatan hele e... tiçiembre de 1706 años ti o cannobix uay ti auden[cia] ti cabidosob franco ku juan puch diego chan gaspal ... regidoresob geromo cach agustin pat alcaldesob ti u ta[nil] lucas camal escribano mahacenile utanukunul tun tic ... tunul alcaldesob regidoresob mayordomosob aluasilesob ... ualaccob yehil yabil = 1707 años cutalele lay sahlemoni ti ca [yu]mil ti dios rey ca noh ahau rey ah tepal hex cat >oci u multi[c]cobe ca tu ihi[?] can nu[?]tahob tutan almehen sr capptan [Dn] Agustin de Palansuela gor uay ti cah lae tuchih ... hixan u thanil cala ac bin mektanticcob utanlahul r[?]... ah tepal he li lay ti tuntabob uay ti audencia real chunuc cah ... heli lay >iban ukabaob uay cabale ----------

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alonço couoh ---------- Ju camal alcalde ...
Juan tep ---------- alcalde meson ----------
anto hau berno baz franco canul franco puch -------
regidoresob ----------
po ku ---------- pur[?]latro ----------
andres may ---------- aluasi mayol -------
andres baz ---------- mayordomo --------
felipe may berno. hau gaspr hau matheo p...
antõ canche pablo hau aluasilesob

---

diego balam ---------- madamiento ---------
lucas balam ---------- madamiento ---------

---

antõ hau ----- esno -------- arançeil ---------
juan may --6 peso-- 6 peso ------ maestro
juan chan -------- tupil doctrina -------- madamiento

---

lay ti soci ti cob cabidosob alcaldesob caix tu yalahob u binsalob tu tan ca noh tzicbenil yum ti sr gor uchebal uchih nutic u thanil elecçion uay ti audiençia r[e]al santo agustin tekanto hele en ... de tiçiembre de 1706 años ----------

Agustin Palensuela [rub.]

Here in the town of San Agustin Tekanto, before the Governor of Mérida, the capital of the province of Yucatán, on this day, the...of December, 1706, meeting here in the court are the members of the cabildo: Francisco Ku, Juan Puch, Diego Chan, Gaspar..., the Regidores; Geronimo Cach, Agustin Pat, the Alcaldes. Before Lucas Camal, the notary, appeared...all the alcaldes, regidores, mayordomos and alguaciles appointed for the coming year, 1707. Fearing of God the Father, King, Great Lord and Ruler, they are assembled...before the noble, Señor Capitan Agustin de Palensuela, Governor here in this town, mandated ... next they shall govern and serve...the ruler. Finally here in the royal court, the cornerstone of the town... thus are their names written here below:

Alonso Couoh, Juan Camal, Alcaldes; Juan Tep, Alcalde Meson; Antonio Hau, Bernardo Baz, Francisco Canul, Francisco Puch, Regidores; Pedro Ku, Porter[?]; Andres May, Chief Alguasil; Andres Baz, Mayordomo; Felipe May, Bernardo Hau, Gaspar Hau, Matheo P..., Antonio Canche, Pablo Hau, Alguaciles; Diego Balam, Lucas Balam, warrant officers; Antonio Hau, Notary, duty officer; Juan May, Maestro; Juan Chan, teacher, warrant officer.

Thus is concluded the meeting of the members of the cabildo and the alcaldes, ordered to appear before his honor, the Señor Governor, so that the election statement be put in order here in the royal court...San Agustin Tekanto, on this day,...of December, 1706. [signature:] Agustin Palensuela

Xcupilcacab f.2 1812

Petition from Xcupilcacab to Replace Their Batab, 1812

Ton con the y Justs y Regores y Esno likulon uay tu mektan cahil cilich yum ah Bolon pixan san Anto Xcupilcacab licil chi cantal tu tanil Cayumil ti Ds y tu tanil unoh tzicbenil yn yum denfensor utial cau met ton utz tu kaba cayumil ti Ds u mansic okotba than tu tanil u noh tzicbenil yn yum halach uinic Bay bic tumen ton ne >oc u hach lubul otzilil ti lay cah yoklal minan mamac than oklal tumenel yn yum Batabe >oc uhach chihil minan upucsikal utial uthan oklal u halkab maon mental olah ton katic tun uyatzilil ti cayumil ti Ds y u noh tzicbenil yn yum halach uinic utial ca yanac uhel yn yum Batab utial mektan ton ti lay cah y u canbeson ti u yalmah thanil cayumil ti Ds he ãlic ton = ychil cantul Regores y unuctacil uincob ti lay cah bicil yn yum Rafael tzin katic uyatzilil ca yanac u yocol umektanton ti lay cah

tumenel >oc kaholtic uyacuntah >oc umenti[c] u alcalde mesonil >oc umen ti u Regor mayoril >oc umentic u tenienteil xan lay unucul >oc kaholtic bicil hach malob uyacuntic cah u ca>ice yum felipe tzab Bay xan >oc umentic u Regor mayorlil lay unucul >oc kaholtic uyacun tic cah xan u yox>ice Benito Puc Bay xan >oc kaholtic bicil malob uinic y cuxolal halil u xul than ti cayumil ti Ds y u noh tzicbenil yn yum Denfensor y unoh tzicbenil yn yum halach uinic lay uhahil cafirma cabal helel en 15 de febrero de 1812

franco Balam the. *Martin Naal*
Baltesar tun *Jn Jose May*
Anto Pech Alcaldes *Juan May*
toribio Ek *Regores*
Damaso Baaz Esno

We the Lieutenant, Justices, Regidores and Notary are from here, the town of San Antonio Xcupilcacab, where we are appearing before our Lord God and before his great honor m'lord Defensor, through whose good services, and in the name of our Lord God, our petition is presented to his great honor m'lord Governor of Yucatán. Wherefore, a great misery has befallen us: We have nobody to represent us, because m'lord Batab has grown very old and has lost the heart to rule. He is weak of mind and no longer desires to represent us. We request as a favor before our Lord God and his great honor m'lord Governor of the Province that there be a change of the lord Batab that governs us in this town and teaches us the commandments of our Lord God. Among the four Regidors and other principal men appointed in this town, m'lord Rafael Tzin requests the favor of governing us in this town, because he is of sound mind and has served as Alcalde Meson, Chief Regidor and also as Lieutenant. It is understood and remembered how very well he protects the town. Secondly, m'lord Felipe Tzab also served as Chief Regidor. It is understood and known that he protects the town also. Thirdly, there is Benito Puc. He too is known as a good man and an intelligent one. This completes and ends the statement made before our Lord God and his great honor m'lord Defensor and his great honor m'lord Governor of Yucatán. This is the truth. We sign below on this day, the 15th February, 1812.

Francisco Balam, Lieutenant; Baltesar Tun, Antonio Pech, Alcaldes; Martin Naal, Juan Jose May, Juan May, Toribio Ek, Regidores; Damaso Baaz, Escribano.

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Mixtec and Nahuatl in Colonial Oaxaca

Kevin Terraciano

Little did Don Thomas know that we would be peering into his past from our distant present. After all, the *demanda* filed against the noblewoman Doña María de Mendoza for a plot of land which allegedly belonged to his family was, perhaps, not even the talk of Teposcolula during those two weeks of testimony in April, 1714. A good sixty leagues from Mexico City, in the mountains of the Mixteca, Don Thomas de San Juan García was merely repossessing land that his grandfather had loaned to another Indian. The evidence that he brought to those proceedings, however, compel our attention to his story. He furnished three documents to lay claim to the land, each in a different indigenous language: a land grant from a noble written in Nahuatl (1551); a grant of the same land in Mixtec (1579); and a testament transferring this land in the Chocho language (1680). With these multi-lingual documents and three witnesses, Don Thomas made his case before the *alcalde mayor* of the province, and a record of the proceedings has been preserved on twelve folios in the language of Castile.

Such a unique document will not, of course, reveal a comprehensive view of life in Oaxaca during the colonial period--no single type of source will. But this one document does span more than a century and a half, revealing the confluence of cultures and languages which characterizes this region, and Mesoamerica in general. From our window we can watch the interplay between continuity and change, conflict

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and coexistence. Several culture groups interacted in various ways, resulting in a rich, complex scenario overlooked by traditional Indian/Spanish perspectives. The successive subjugation, in varying forms and degrees (usually violent), of the Chochos by the Mixtecs, the Mixtecs by the Aztec Triple Alliance, and all of the above by the Castilians, provides a context that should not be overlooked when one considers the indigenous response to Spanish rule. Continuity and change intertwine in the passing of time; nowhere is this better illustrated for colonial Latin American history than in these sources. Here, we hear Indians speak and catch privileged glimpses of how they lived.

Historians, anthropologists and linguists have recently proven the value of using indigenous-language sources, especially in their work on the Nahuas ("Aztecs") of central Mexico. However, little to nothing has been written utilizing the writings of other major Indian groups--some work has been done on the Maya, but there is *none* on the Mixtecs of Oaxaca.[1]

We can attribute this lack of research on other regions and indigenous groups to the field's nascency, especially for historians. The success of indigenous-language studies in the central area has set a new agenda for social and cultural history in the colonial period, and many of the techniques and skills for comparative study of other indigenous languages have been honed in the process. Only now can we begin to apply the same methods to other indigenous cultures. In a sense, historians have followed in the footsteps of the Spaniards, attending to sources in central Mexico before venturing to the rest of New Spain.

Southern Mexico, with its dense and complex Indian populations, seems ideally suited for our purposes. This area may be characterized by a more gradual pace of change, and has been largely the study of anthropologists and archaeologists who have traditionally attempted to reconstruct the preconquest past. Scholars in general were too quick to identify the conquest with the decline of indigenous society, lending perhaps too much credence to sources from the center of the Aztec empire which lamented its collapse as if it were the end of civilization itself. It is true that the Indian population suffered a precipitous and calamitous fall in numbers within the first few generations, due to the unchecked spread of diseases which had never been encountered in this part of the biosphere.[2] In spite of this fact, indigenous societies survived and in many places persist

in the present.

Oaxaca is one of these southern areas where indigenous life continued to flourish; in the relative absence of Spaniards, Indians were still the largest landholders in the Valley of Oaxaca by the beginning of the nineteenth century.[3] Between the valleys of Mexico and Oaxaca (Antequera) lies the mountainous Mixteca, straddling the Nahua world, yet removed from the flow of silver, people and goods which moved from the mines in the north to the capital and then down to the coast and across the Atlantic. A road joining the two valleys meandered through the mountains, bringing that part of the Mixteca which lie along it into minimal contact with Spaniards. The Dominican Order moved into Oaxaca immediately after their rivals, the Franciscans, had occupied the best parts of the central valley. So it is an area relatively near the center, with a dense Indian population at the time of contact, yet it's not a place where Spaniards were likely to settle. [See Figure 1]

My approach to studying the Mixteca is necessarily comparative. All too often, research has been so specialized in this field that many seem to think that their work or subject of research is entirely unique, or exists in some microhistorical vacuum, failing to place their findings within a larger context. I intend to draw from our understanding of the Nahuas, and make frequent comparisons between Mixtec and Nahuatl. Before analyzing the languages, a few introductory remarks on the early history of the Mixtecs will provide a requisite background.

The Mixteca

The Mixteca is a cultural and historical term for a jagged region running down from the cloud-covered mountains to the flat, hot Pacific coast, spreading out over a spectrum of landscapes and ecosystems. Roughly speaking, it stretches from the Río Atoyac of Puebla in the east to the edges of Oaxaca's central valley in the west, bounded by the steep Cañadas and the ocean.[4] Today this territory would encompass the western half of the state of Oaxaca and neighboring portions of Puebla and Guerrero. It is an area of well-developed civilization, part of the Mesoamerican cultural complex, yet with an identity of its own.

We associate this identity with the people who bear the same name as their land. However that name was not theirs. The *Mixteca* is derived from the Nahuatl *mixtecatl*,

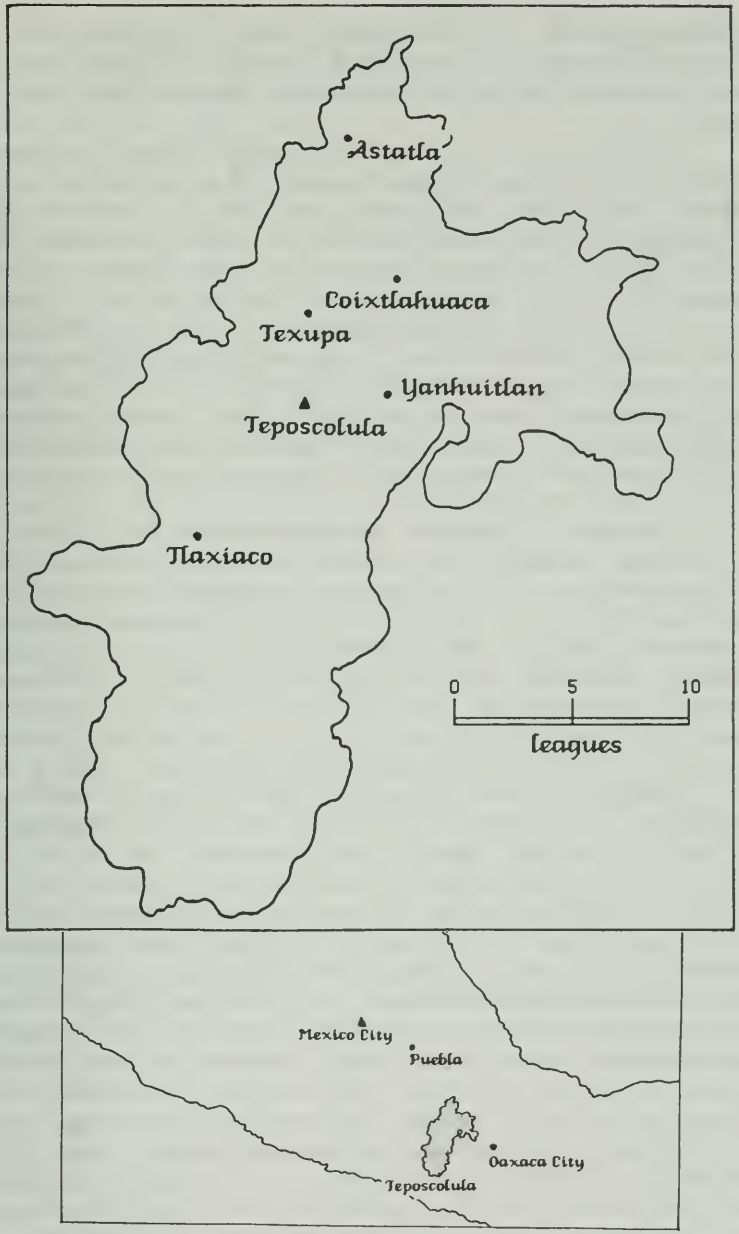

Figure 1: Province of Teposcolula, in the Mixteca Alta, Oaxaca. Modified from Peter Gerhard's *Historical Geography of New Spain, 1519-1821.*

which means "the place of people by the clouds" (*mixtli* = clouds). Similarly, people from the mountainous Mixteca Alta called themselves *tay ñudzavui* --"people from the land of rain."[5]

Anthropologists believe there was a Mixtec migration to the southeast from the Puebla area some time after the decline of Teotihuacan around the sixth century AD. Until the twelfth century, they seemed to be under the powerful influence of another central valley empire, the Toltecs at Tula. Gradually, through a combination of extensive intermarriage and warfare, the Mixtecs had infiltrated the Valley of Oaxaca by the mid-fourteenth century, claiming many Zapotec sites as their own. Royalty were burying their dead in the famous tombs of Monté Alban at this time. Their artistic influence spread throughout Mesoamerica, producing some of the finest manuscripts (some eight pre-Columbian codices survive), sculpture, pottery, mosaics and metalwork.

Though Mixtecs are most prominent here, there existed several substantial enclaves of other culture groups with distinct but often related languages, such as the Chochos, Popolocas, Triques, Chatinos, Ixcatecs, Amuzgos, Cuicatecs, Mazatecs and neighboring Zapotecs. They were probably all in one way or another displaced by the movement of the Mixtecs, but also loosely united with them through the intermarriage of nobility. The broken landscape may be one reason why these groups managed to retain their own languages and identities. As we will see, it also contributed to a divergence of dialects in the Mixtec language itself; some modern linguists will go so far as to call the various dialects languages in their own right.

The terrain may have also blocked effective political unification by force. The existence of a Mixtec kingdom in the prehispanic period seems to be more myth than reality. The historians Woodrow Borah and Sherburne Cook likened the disintegrated political situation of the Mixteca to that of the city-states of ancient Greece. Even the most notable Mixtec ruler in history, the mighty "8 Deer" from Tilantongo (named after the calendrical date on which he was born) could not succeed in his eleventh-century quest for a unified Mixtec empire. According to the codices, he had his nose pierced in the royal, ceremonial manner at Tula, he married five times into noble families and subjugated many neighboring city-states. But these lofty ambitions met a tragic end when he was captured and put to the sacrificial blade. A generation before the Spaniards, the Aztec Triple

Alliance led by Tizoc established two outposts in the Mixteca; still, this merely meant the payment of some tribute, and local rule was left alone. Ironically, the Spaniards would later use Aztec tribute lists to assess the region's contribution to the new empire.

Divided by twisting mountain ranges, settlements were situated in small and often isolated valleys, ranging from nucleated centers with nearby, dispersed population clusters--like Texupa--to a more complex hierarchical organization of settlements, each with its own ruler--as in Coixtlahuaca. Teposcolula was apparently divided along ethnic lines and contained groups of people who had come from other places.[6] Spaniards would later apply the terms *cabecera* for each nucleated center, *barrio* for the nearby population groups and *sujeto* for the distant (usually subordinate) ones. Each city-state or *tayu* (one of several Mixtec words for a settlement) operated within a network of dependent units with some autonomy, making it possible for ethnic groups, often with different languages, to function together as a whole. Like the *altepetl* of central Mexico and perhaps the Mayan *cah*, the *tayu* seems to be a cellular unit capable of expanding and contracting without changing its essential structure, a phenomenon most important when we consider the effects of the Spanish presence and depopulation.

The Spaniards established control over the Mixteca in the 1520s with relatively little resistance. The Mixtecs had undoubtedly heard about the fall of Tenochtitlan, and probably entertained few notions of fighting these weird warriors on four-legged beasts from who knew where. Already by 1530 Teposcolula gave sixty-five pesos in gold and a hundred black and white cotton shirts in tribute to the crown.[7] A *corregidor* (Spanish official in charge of a colonial jurisdiction) arrived a year later. In 1529, the Dominicans founded a house in Yanhuitlan, followed by one in Teposcolula (1541) and another in Coixtlahuaca (1544); they would establish eighteen houses in the Mixteca by 1581, and introduce the profitable silk industry in the area to help sustain them.[8]

The Dominican Order devised ways to completely finance its activities in this new land, drawing on the resources of Indians and Spaniards alike. In order to convert the Mixtecs into obedient servants of the lord who they represented on earth, the friars had to become intimately close, to learn the customs and language of the region in order to preach, instruct and to even listen (to confessions). In the

Old World, Dominicans were known for commanding an audience in the vernacular, rousing common folk with fiery oratory and histrionics. For this they had to know the language, down to the very idioms which they could use at the pulpit. It was inconceivable for the Indians to learn Spanish in the early period; there were too few teachers and there was not enough contact between the two cultures. In the sixteenth century, the Dominican presence *was* the Spanish presence in the Mixteca; other Spaniards would gravitate to the cities of Oaxaca, Puebla or Mexico.

The religious orders which set out to learn indigenous languages were probably better prepared than anyone in Europe to undergo such a task. The Franciscans and Dominicans in Spain were renowned for their intellectual ties to the University of Salamanca, which was flourishing in those imperial times. The Mediterranean intellectual world in general had a long history of contact with other languages; many of the Greek classics were transmitted to the west as Constantinople crumbled, others were translated from Arabic. Biblical studies were a veritable babel, grappling with languages from Chaldean to Hebrew. The Dominican Thomas Aquinas, working with fresh translations of Aristotle in the mid-thirteenth century, wrote his *Summa contra Gentiles* to aid friars in the conversion of heretics and infidels. By the fifteenth century, Latin itself was giving way to many local languages. In the prologue to his Castilian grammar of 1492--a product of Salamanca and the first of its kind in Europe--Antonio de Nebrija confidently stated that "language was always the instrument of empire," and that Castilian would eventually be accepted by the conquered "barbarous peoples and nations of foreign tongues" as well as others who came into contact with Spain.[9]

In the Mixteca, Dominicans continued this tradition of learning foreign tongues; in 1529 Gonzalo Lucero, who also studied Nahuatl, was apparently on his way to writing and speaking Mixtec. He was followed by a network of other friars like Francisco Marín, Domingo de Santa María and Juan Cabrera, who compiled working papers for religious instructionals and dictionaries. Benito Hernandez composed several lengthy Christian doctrines in different dialects in the 1560s.[10] Yet it wasn't until Antonio de los Reyes published his *Arte en Lengua Mixteca* and Francisco de Alvarado presented the *Vocabulario en Lengua Mixteca*, a collaborative effort in 1593, that anything was produced in Mixtec comparable to the Nahuatl-language materials published in central

Mexico. Nahuatl dictionaries and grammars appeared as early as the 1540s; the Franciscan Alonso de Molina had already published his second dictionary by 1571. The lag of time for similar works in the Mixteca may be explained by the lack of activity relative to central Mexico. Yet the authors of the two works indicate that it may have had something to do with the language itself.

Reyes and Alvarado worked with one another in the area of Teposcolula, consciously crafting their works to conform to that dialect, which they considered to be "more universal and clear, the best understood in all of the Mixteca."[11] Reyes delineates five or six dialects in the Mixteca, and enumerates some of their idiosyncrasies. Both acknowledge that it is a tonal language, and that the same word can have various different meanings depending on its pronunciation. Though Alvarado speaks highly of its complexity he laments that "this language is not content with what nature gave us to pronounce."[12] Obviously, the Spanish alphabet was somewhat deficient in capturing the phonetic transcription of Mixtec sounds, and orthography varied considerably. Both authors seemed to have come to terms with these problems and established a consistent vocabulary.

In compiling his dictionary of two-hundred and four folios, Alvarado spent four years organizing the notes and unpublished texts of his predecessors, especially the works of Juan Cabrera (who began to compile a dictionary but died in 1563) and Antonio de los Reyes, and then checked his final version against the "Indians themselves, who are the best teachers...and have been the authors [of this dictionary]."[13] This is perhaps the most important statement in his prologue, and verifies that although Spaniards determined the nature of the entries (Spanish-to-Mixtec) of the work, Mixtecs helped compose and edited the final version. These works are invaluable sources for the language today. There is no indication, however, that any Mixtecs ever used these materials.

The friars worked extensively with nobles in teaching them to write, grooming scribes for the record-keeping responsibilities of the Spanish-style government. Writing flourished in the Mixteca, like many other places in Mesoamerica, because there was a preconquest precedent for it in the art of pictographic painting known as codices. There are many surviving Mixtec codices painted on bark or deerskin, which record the dynastic histories and conquests of

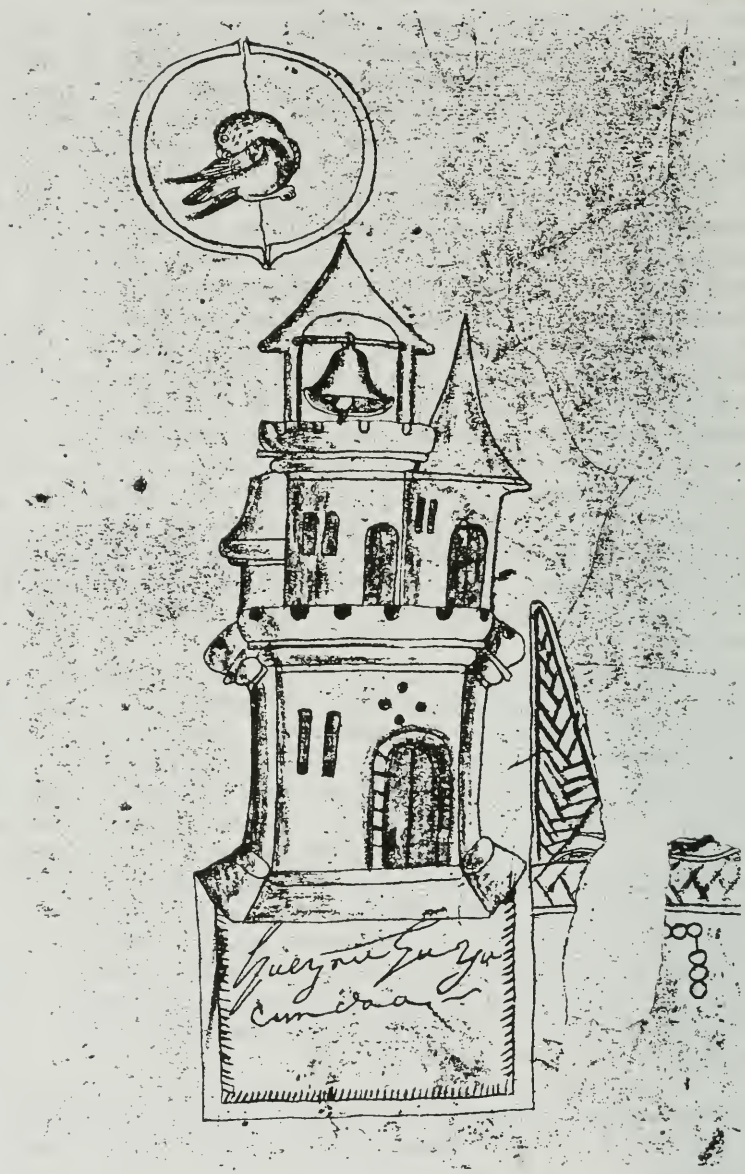

Figure 2: Page from Códice de Yanhuitlán (c.1545). Mixtec painting of the cathedral in Teposcolula bearing a hybrid caption of Nahuatl and Mixtec--*huey ñuhu yucundaa.*

the nobility. It is most likely that the noble (or his descendants) who painted before would become the public notaries or scribes of the colonial period. The word for *escribano* in the Alvarado dictionary is *tay taatutu* or "one who writes/paints on paper," the distinction between writing and painting being obscure, like in Nahuatl. The first texts produced by Mixtecs in the colonial period combined both pictorial and written elements.

One of the more famous postconquest writings in the area, the Codice Sierra, combines pictorial with Nahuatl text. This codice is an account of Texupa's expenses for the period 1550-1564. Texupa is where our Don Thomas de San Juan García lived, and the Nahuatl document he furnishes in the proceedings is from the same period. So we know there was a significant Nahuatl presence here, though it is listed in 1579 as a Mixtec and Chocho population.

Another contemporaneous codice from the Mixteca Alta combining pictorial and written text, representing the conflux of cultures in this area, is the Codice of Yanhuitlan. [See Figure 2] In this example, the cathedral of Teposcolula is depicted in a mixture of European (three-dimensional) and indigenous styles. By the would-be atrium below is written a hybrid phrase combining the Nahuatl word *huey* or "great" with the Mixtec word for Teposcolula *ñuhu yucundaa.* This is a clear representation of multi-faceted cultural interaction.

There are hundreds of local documents of all types written in Mixtec for the entire colonial period--a significant corpus of materials on which to base several extensive linguistic and historical analyses.

Transcription and Translation of Documents

I found the two documents presented here in the Judicial Archive of Teposcolula in legajo 15, on opposite sides of the same page.[14] The Nahuatl is one of few extant examples of this language in the Mixteca, though there are certainly more. The Mixtec is one of the earliest surviving local records that I have seen to date.

In the transcription, numbers in parentheses represent the beginning of the corresponding line in the original. Brackets are used to indicate words which are unclearly written or puzzling in the original, or missing elements in the translation which are implied but not actually stated. For the Nahuatl, I have inserted an *n* where the overbar indicates only when it is appropriate.

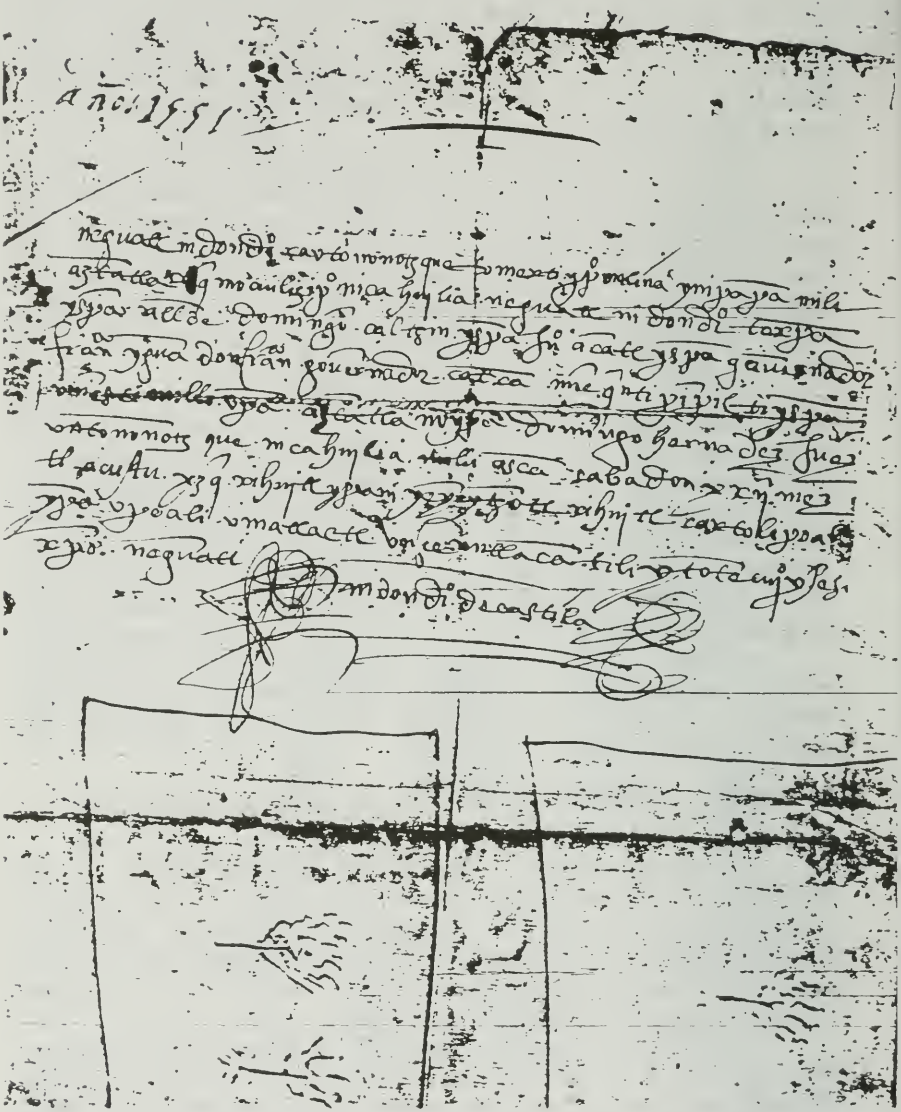

Figure 3: Nahuatl from Archivo Judicial de Teposcolula.

Nahuatl

años 1551

(1) neguatl ni don di° ca vtomonotzque tomexti y p° molína yn ipanpa mili (2) aztatlan quimocuiliz i p° nicahuilia neguatl ni don di° texpan (3) yspan aHde domingo caltzin yspan Ju° acatl yspan governador (4) franco yguan don franco governador catca miequintin pipiltin yspan (5) vmesti milli vnpa aztatlan no ypa domingo hernadez Juez (6) vntononotzque nicahuilia milli ascan sabadon xxii mez (7) tl acustu yzq xihuitl ypan i yeyey tzotl xihuitl caxtoli poal (8) ypa vpoali vmatlactl vnce vntlacatili y totecui° y Jesu (9) xpo neguatl

ni don di° de castila [rubrics]

Translation

years 1551

I am Don Diego. We both have agreed, Pedro Molína [and I], about the land in Aztatlan. He will take it, I leave it to Pedro. I Don Diego, in public, in the presence of alcalde Domingo Caltzin, before Juan Acatl, before the governor Francisco and Don Francisco the former governor, in front of many nobles. Both fields [are] over there in Aztatlan. Also before Domingo Hernandez the judge, we agreed that I leave him the land today Saturday, xxii [of the] month [of] August in the year twelve-hundred (3 x 400), three-hundred (15 x 20) and fifty-one (40 + 11) of the birth of our lord Jesus Christ, I

Don Diego de Castilla

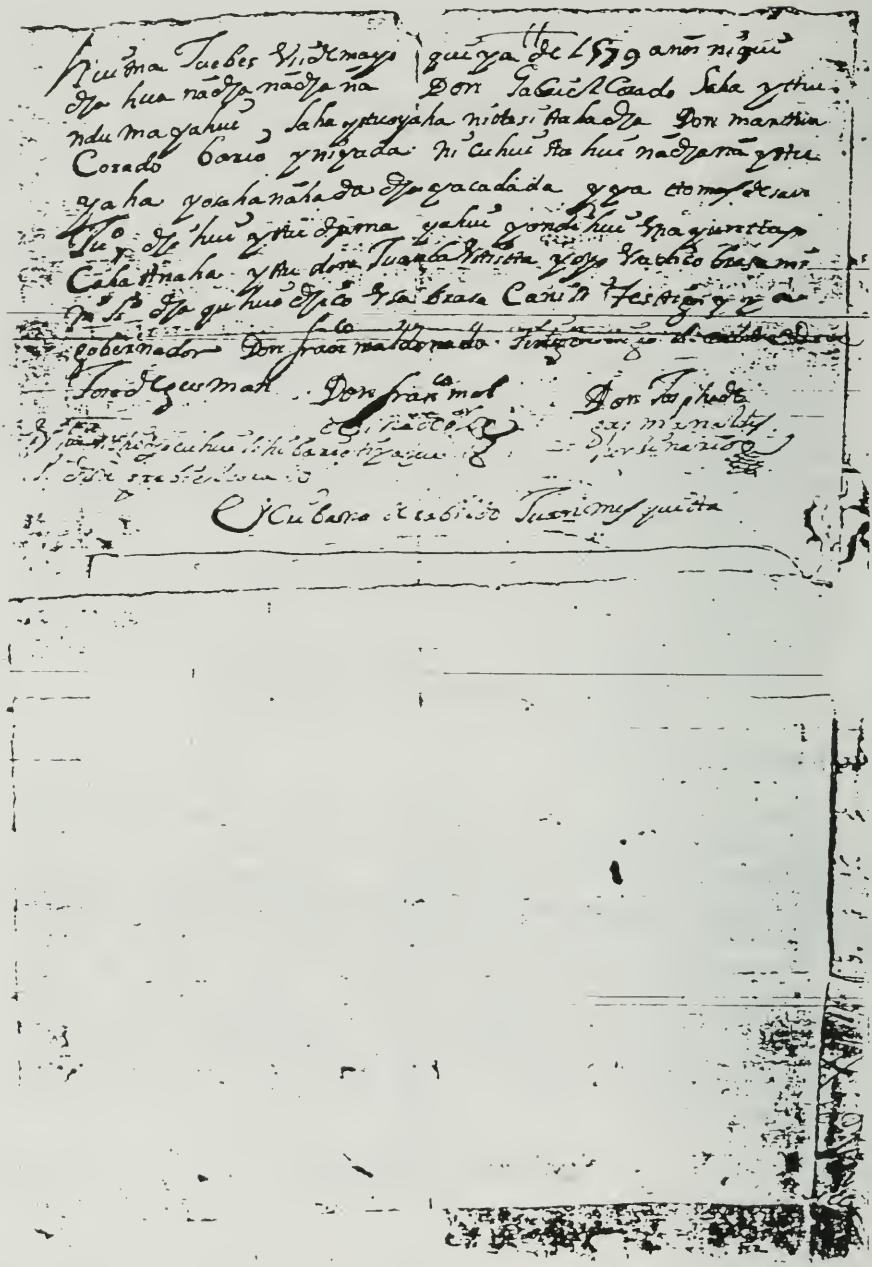

Figure 4: Mixtec from Archivo Judicial de Teposcolula.

Mixtec

(1) huitna Juebes Usi de mayo quiya de 1579 años niqui (2) dzahua ñadza ñadzaña Don Gabriel Corado saha yttu (3) ndumayahui saha yttuyaha nitasi tahadza Don marthin (4) Corado bario yniyada nicuhuitahui ñadzaña yttu (5) yaha yosahañahada dzayacadada yya ttomas de san (6) Ju° dzihui yttu dzumayahui yondihui una yunttas (7) caha tnaha yttu don Juan bautistta [yoy] usa dzico brasa mi (8) ni si dza [quhni] dzico usa brasa cani si testigos yya (9) gobernador Don franco maldonado testigo alcalde Don (10) Jose de gusman

Don franco mal
donado g° [rubric]

Don Josphe de
gusman aldes
hordinario [rubric]

Uhui sichi yocuhui sihi bario tiyaya
si don grabiel corado
escribano de cabildo Juan mesquitta

Translation

Today Thursday the tenth of May, year of 1579, I Don Gabriel Corado have done this concerning the land [called] *ndumayahui*. About this field that my father, Don Martín Corado from the barrio called *yniyada* , gave to me as a gift, I present this field as a gift to my son-in-law the noble Tomas de San Juan. The field called *dzumayahui* takes eight yoke of oxen to plow and is next to the land of Don Juan Bautista, it is one-hundred and forty brasas (7 x 20) wide by eighty-seven brasas (4 x 20 + 7) long. The witness [is] the noble gobernador Don Francisco Maldonado [and] witness alcalde Don Joseph de Gusman
signatures of governor and alcalde

Before the two it is done here in the barrio *tiyaya*
by don Gabriel Corado
signature of the public notary of the town council

Analysis of Nahuatl

The Nahua-speaker named Don Diego de Castilla who drew up this document in a practiced, skilled hand exhibited a full command of the conventions of writing and orthography at this early date. Whether or not he was a Nahua is unclear. This was presumably written in an area of Mixtecs and Chochos, at a time when Nahuatl served as the *lingua franca* within the new order, a bridge between the Spaniards and the various indigenous cultures. It is likely that the nobility of this region was already familiar with the language of their former conquerors, learning it to obtain advantage within the Triple Alliance empire. Nahuatl became known also through intermarriage and various other means of cultural interaction.[15] Just as Don Diego had adopted a prestigious Spanish surname, Juan Acatl and Domingo Caltzin represent a borrowing from two conquering cultures, assuming that they are non-Nahuas. It is likely they are not, considering the Aztatlan mentioned in the document is in the Mixteca Alta, near Teposcolula about seven leagues north of Coixtlahuaca. Why would Nahuas be on a *cabildo* (Spanish-style local government) in the Mixteca? It is more likely that they've inherited or assumed the Nahuatl equivalent of their calendrical names.[16]

Judged by his title, writing and signature, Don Diego was an important noble. The only other person appearing with the high title at this early time is the former governor Don Francisco, who was certainly a cacique carrying on his traditional right to rule.[17] Though Don Diego writes in a fine sixteenth century Spanish manner, the pictorial sketches of the land and the style and content of the document betray a decidedly pre-Hispanic oral tradition. First, he writes as he would speak, introducing himself to the assembly of nobles who sit on the Spanish-style cabildo, the same type of people he would address in this regard before the conquest. He is careful to note everyone's presence, testifying to the importance of witnesses in the oral tradition. The pictorial representation of the land accompanying the text is another example of how indigenous forms of writing persisted alongside European script.

The fact that the language and sketch referring to the land is so vague is somewhat surprising, considering that in sources from the central area, and in the Mixtec document, lands were measured very accurately at this time. Perhaps we

see here an unfamiliarity with that part of the formula at such an early date, or merely a reliance on oral tradition to identify the land which such a prominent noble gave. No money is mentioned, there's no notary, and nobody else signs the document, perhaps because nobody else could write.

The language itself does not deviate from the Nahuatl of the central area, beyond a few foibles.[18] The use of *g* in place of *h* in the pronoun *neguatl* is rather uncommon. In *otomonotzque* (preterit of *nonotza* = to agree) he has contracted the middle element of *tito-* (subject and reflexive pronouns) to read *to-*, a known but quite uncommon technique in the central Mexican valley. He writes *ontlacatili* instead of *omotlacatili* for the reverential verb in line 8, which is clearly incorrect but excusable. The omission of the *i* from the absolutive suffix *tli* of *meztl* and *tzontl* is different but not unheard of, and may have been nothing more than a regional characteristic.[19] As usual, there's the loss and insertion of the letter *n* throughout the document, often represented by a line scrawled over the word. The omission of the syllable-final nasal in many of the words could be related to regional pronunciation: in the case of a Mixtec-speaker from the Teposcolula area we would not expect to hear a similar sound since there are no syllable final consonants in the language. On the other hand, for this same reason we would not expect to see the omission of the *i* from the end of nouns for the same reason. Overall the language is sound; despite the atypical use of *yzquin* before the year count and the *yeyey* instead of *yey* for "three," we have to commend his command of Nahuatl.

What is perhaps most noticeable about this document is the relative absence of reverential speech associated with the nobility, especially during the early period. Whereas the Mixtec document contains frequent uses, there is only one example of a properly enunciated Nahuatl word in the reverential--*quimocuiliz*. The use of the reverential would be more prominent with nobles at this time in the central area. It could be that Don Diego is not familiar with the terminology, or that it is merely uncommon on the fringes of the Nahua world. How did Nahuas interact with Mixtecs on these loosely-defined fringes? Can we even consider this area a fringe, or was it rather an extension of the center, in more or less constant contact with the Nahuas and various other groups? Though we get a good view of the complexity of the early colonial situation in this document, we need further examples to make more informed statements.

Analysis of Mixtec

The Mixtec document of 1579, like the Nahuatl, exhibits a well developed, nearly fully articulated writing of the language, complete with reverential formulae and complex verb structures. I will examine this text in greater detail, because we are at a much earlier stage of analyzing Mixtec language documents and consequently, know much less relative to the Nahua sphere.

Everybody carries the title of Don here except the notary, Juan Mesquitta, whose surname is a curious hispanization of the Nahuatl word *mizquitl*. The governor is yet another Francisco, who probably took his name from the prominent encomendero of this area Don Francisco Maldonado, appointed by Cortés in the 1520s. Don Gabriel Corado (a version of Coronado?) calls his son-in-law *yya* Thomas de San Juan, using the Mixtec equivalent of the noble title *don*. The nobility borrows Spanish names fully, something we would expect to see at this time in the central area, too.

There are many Spanish conventions employed throughout the text: *años* is used alongside its Mixtec equivalent *cuiya* (often seen as *quiya*). The writer almost freely borrows Spanish terms which have no precise Mixtec equivalents in the opening formula, even using *de* before the month and year, but he chooses to stay with the Mixtec *usi* for the number ten. The measurement of the land by *brasas* and *yuntas* is uncommon for this early stage of contact; Nahuas usually used some equivalent term such as *quauitl* or *matl* to measure land.[20] The appearance of the word *bario* instead of the Mixtec *siqui* as it is defined in the Alvarado dictionary would seem to represent a deviation from the pattern of borrowing Spanish terms only when there was no indigenous equivalent. Although it is much too early to say for certain, I tend to think that there may not be a precise equivalent Mixtec term; the use of *siqui* in the documentation seems somewhat rare. Though *calpulli* and *tlaxilacalli* may have corresponded to the Spanish urban unit in the more nucleated *altepetl* or city-state of the central region, it may not apply to its counterparts--*tayu*, *ñuu* or *yucunduta*--of the Mixteca. All three of the latter terms are used to describe the Mixtec provincial unit, the last is the literal equivalent of the Nahuatl *altepetl* (water and hill), representing the two ancient needs of survival and

sustenance. The size and structure of each of the three relative to the others remains to be seen.

For an appreciation of how the language works, let us begin to examine its grammar and syntax. At the end of line 1 is probably one of the most common verbs in all documents *quidza* (to do or make), with the *ni-* tense prefix coming before the verb root indicating its preterit form. Attached to the root is the adverb *hua,* an abbreviated version of *huaha* meaning "well." This *huaha* appears so frequently after *quidza* that it seems to be part of the verb itself, connoting resolution or accomplishment.[21] Perhaps it is a term directly associated with a legal, public action or maybe it is just a very common verb, for I have not seen a document without it. In testaments, it could refer to doing something "with a sound mind," as it is usually followed by a disclaimer about the sick body, a typical and important distinction for testators. The whole construction should end with *-ndi* the first-person, singular subject indicator. This is also the possessive ending following a noun with no chance of consonant collision since all words in the language end in a vowel. Instead of this ending, however, Don Gabriel uses the reverential *ñadza* to refer to himself. In his *Arte en Lengua Mixteca* Reyes speaks of a reverential language used by the nobility (called *yya*) and by commoners when addressing them. He even compiles two nearly parallel vocabularies for the different groups. Reyes indicates that *ñadza* is the subject pronoun (from *ñadzaña*) of the verb, placed at the end of the construction, and often shortened to *dza*, as we will see later.[22] Thus the standard verb complex is ordered in the following manner:

tense / root / adverb / object / subject (reverential)

In most respects, the order of construction is the mirror opposite of conventional Nahuatl.

The subject comes after the verb and the dependent clause is introduced by the ubiquitous *saha* which functions much like the Nahuatl *ipampa* (about, concerning). Land is called *yttu* as a cultivable field or milpa, equivalent to *milli* in Nahuatl, and is recorded as *ytu* in the Alvarado dictionary; we have already seen the almost arbitrary use of a double consonant in Nahuatl. In the Mixteca, all land bears a name which seems to be a descriptive toponym and is identified accordingly. Here it is first referred to as *ndumayahui* and later as *dzumayahui*. The difference between the two renderings

highlights the unclear distinction between similar sounds in Mixtec orthography. Such details are important to note for reconstructing words from their variant spellings. Reyes instructs us about pronunciation in his work: the explosive syllable-initial *dz* is pronounced by "striking softly on the *d*, and more strongly on the *z* ", just as the emphasis in the nasal *nd* would be on the *d* .[23] But if we consider that *z* was probably an interdental voiceless fricative, pronounced as "theta" in sixteenth-century Castilian (as it is now), the *dz* would be quite similar to both *d* and *nd*. With *yahui* we could expect to see *vui* or *yui* or even *vi* in place of *hui* to produce the *w* sound (the *v* serves as a *u* in Latin and Spanish orthography). This toponym refers to maguey in *yahui* and *dzuma* literally means "tail" but, like the correlation between relational terms and animate body parts in Nahuatl, can by extension mean anything in back of or behind something. Thus I take the word to mean "behind the magueys."[24]

Don Gabriel proceeds: "about this land" (*saha yttu yaha*)--"My" reverential (*dza*) "father" (*taha* appears as *taa* in the dictionary but is pronounced as *táá* and in this case is written with a glottal stop using the letter *h* which usually only appears between like vowels) "Don Martin Corado from the barrio called green heart" (*yni* = heart; *yadza* = green, with *dz* being written as *d* for reasons described above) "gave it" (going back to the verb in the beginning: *ni* preterit, *tasi* = to give); "it was a gift to me" (*nicuhui* is the preterit form of the verb "to be" and *tahui* = gift). He in turn gives it to his son-in-law as a gift, this time using the reverential construction *yosahañahada* found in Reyes, with *dzayacadada* for "son-in-law."[25]

At this point the size of the land called *dzumayahui* is stated, conforming to the Spanish style of measurement mentioned above. Counting the number of oxen it took to plow a field is assuredly not indigenous, but Mixtec accommodates the meaning by only borrowing one Spanish noun--*yuntas* or yoke of oxen (plural). *Yondehui* is the present form of the verb "to enter," *una* is "eight" and the verb "to plow" is either understood or is represented by *caha* on the next line (*caa* = copper, with glottal stop as in *taha*, or by normal extension any metal tool which might be used to plow): the construction completes the Spanish phrase "entran ocho yuntas arallas" ("it takes eight yoke of oxen to plow them") found later in a summary of the document.[26] The field is located near Don Juan Bautista's, using *tnaha* or

"ear" to connote something on the side (i.e. of the head).

Like the Nahuas, the Mixtecs use the vigesimal system of counting based on multiples of twenty common throughout Mesoamerica; arabic numerals are only used for the date at the top of the documents. *Usa dzico* is seven twenties; *quhni dzico usa* is four twenties and seven.[27] The Spanish *brasa* is used with the Mixtec words for wide (*mini*) and long (*cani*), both followed by the relational particle *si*. The word in brackets immediately preceding the land measurement is incomprehensible, but could be a metathesized form of the irregular verb "to be"--*yyo*. After the measurement, the noble witnesses are promptly introduced with a mixture of Spanish and Mixtec titles, as in "*testigo yya gobernador Don* Francisco Maldonado." Though it is difficult to say for certain, Juan Mesquitta seems to have signed for both the governor and alcalde. The last line is obscured but verifies that the document was drawn up in the barrio called *tiyaya*, which is something like "place by the road."

This document, written in the same year that the Relaciones Geográficas were being compiled for the Spanish Crown, shows Mixtec writing at a well-developed state , and conveys an enormous amount of linguistic information in scarcely nine lines. But what does it all mean?

Historical Context

These two documents are accompanied by a third from Coixtlahuaca in 1687: Don Gabriel de San Juan's testament drawn up in the Chocho language, bequeathing the land called *tzotasin* (the Chocho equivalent of *dzumayahui*) and eight other lands to his two grandsons, Don Thomas de San Juan García and Domingo de San Juan. He is careful to note that he loaned the land called *tzotasin* to Don Domingo Alabes--Doña María de Mendoza's father--and that it should be returned. It is likely that Don Gabriel is the grandson of Don Thomas de San Juan, who received the land from his father-in-law Don Gabriel Corado in 1579, who inherited it from his father Don Martín, who somehow acquired it from Pedro Molina along with the original Nahuatl title of 1551. Thus we see one piece of land passed along several generations, changing hands at least ten times, recorded in Nahuatl, Mixtec, Chocho and Spanish.

Supporting these documents, Don Thomas produces three witnesses from different areas of the Mixteca who testify that the land does indeed belong to his family. One of

these witnesses, Don Sebastian de Castilla, is a *cacique* (Arawak term used by Spaniards for Indian ruler) who speaks Castilian, dresses like a Spaniard and signs his own name to his testimony. He may even be a descendant of the original owner of the land, since such a high name would not likely be shared by many people in the same region.

Yet Don Sebastian is not the only acculturated noble present at the proceedings. Doña María de Mendoza, the defendant, is a widow and *casica* of Coixtlahuaca who appears in Spanish clothing and responds to all the questions in the language of the court. She replied to the *demanda* that the field in question is further down from hers, and that the land she rightfully possesses is called *yodzocoo*, which is Mixtec for Coixtlahuaca, but that she doesn't have any title.[28] Doña María is arguing, then, that the land belongs to the community and is part of her inheritance as cacica. In the 1551 document, the land was referred to as being in Aztatlan, which was a *sujeto* or subject settlement of Coixtlahuaca. We also learn from a separate document that Doña María's late husband, Domingo de Mendoza, was cacique of Aztatlan.[29] She challenges Don Thomas, who is also a noble (*principal*) of Coixtlahuaca but lives in Texupa because of his marriage there, on the grounds that he is claiming royal lands as his own patrimonial property.

Doña María's claim does not hold in court. With his written documents and reputable witnesses, Don Thomas is awarded the land "without its workers," implying that it is being sown by people in the service of the cacica or the community.

There are a number of notable observations to be made from this one case, some which of course must be made tentatively until further similar cases are examined. Indians in Oaxaca made use of the Spanish legal system from the beginning, creating records as soon as they could and valuing them for future use. Though the timing of these innovations seems to lag somewhat behind the central area, it may not be as far behind as we thought. Moreover, there seems to be a complex network of interaction in the colonial period between Nahuas and Mixtecs (and other indigenous groups) which has been overlooked to date, precisely because it is difficult to document.

Land is a commodity handed along as a grant, a gift, part of an inheritance, and even as a loan. There is a definite sense of private ownership, but in the latter case, it seems to be related to utility. A noticeable feature of Don Gabriel de

San Juan's will is the mixture of Spanish and Indian possessions, which range from eight lambs and a painting of "Señora Carmen" to an Indian digging stick (*coa*) and two *metates*. There is no mention of money in the will or anywhere in the entire document.

The nobility is still intact, marrying into other city-states as Don Thomas does to perhaps create new alliances. Despite Doña María's loss here, caciques seem to retain much of their status nearly two centuries after the conquest by ironically adapting in part to the new order, acquiring as many Spanish trappings as possible--including learning Castilian, no small feat in these parts. This is a clear example of the interplay between continuity and change whereby Indians adapted to change and adopted new ways to gain advantage and consequently maintain their traditional rights.[30] Only two Indians appear in such a manner and they are both caciques. Furthermore, one of them is Doña María de Mendoza, the cacica of Coixtlahuaca who rules, possesses land and defends herself in court, something quite rare in the Spanish world.

Thus we glimpse a dynamic society in the Mixteca, far from the picture of decay and despair painted by some of our predecessors. In time this fleeting sight will become a more informed view from which we can begin to draw the larger, more detailed picture. We can expect a greater retention of indigenous ways in Oaxaca, relative to the central area, and these ways are best disclosed in the analysis of documents such as the two presented here. In addition to their linguistic value, they contain the type of information on life in the colonial period that we cannot expect to find in Spanish-language documentation alone.

Notes

1. Ronald Spores and Maarten Jansen have followed in the footsteps of the great pioneers, Alfonso Caso and Barbro Dahlgren de Jordan in studying Mixtec codices and Spanish-language documents, and using the language to varying degrees. María de los Ángeles Romero Frizzi and Rodolfo Pastor have also done a considerable amount of work on the Mixteca. But to the best of my knowledge, nobody has used Mixtec-language sources from the colonial period, though I understand this may be changing and I look forward to contributing to this new area in the field. One of the best introductions to the language and sources in the colonial period is provided by *Essays in Otomanguean Culture History* , edited by J.K.Josserand, et al.

(Vanderbilt, 1984).
2. Sherburne F. Cook and Woodrow Borah *The Population of the Mixteca Alta, 1520-1960*. (Berkeley: UC Press, 1968). Cook and Borah calculate that the Mixteca Alta (elevated, north-eastern region) had seven times the population in 1520 than in 1570. Epidemics were especially virulent in 1576-81, 1591-92, and 1599. The population of 1570 was halved by 1600 and halved again by the mid-seventeenth century, when it reached its nadir. By 1800, it was about 7-10% of the original preconquest population. There is much debate about the accuracy of such calculations, but the conclusions are essentially the same.
3. See William B. Taylor, *Landlord and Peasant in Colonial Oaxaca*. (Stanford, 1972).
4. Some geographers have considered the region a complex union of the Sierra Madre Oriental and the Sierra Madre Occidental. The Mixteca has been traditionally divided into three sub-regions: Alta, Baja, and Costa. I will address only the former in this essay, since all of the documentation is from this area. Settlements here lie between 1800-3400 meters above sea level.
5. Fray Antonio de los Reyes, *Arte en Lengua Mixteca*. (Mexico, 1593) reprinted by Comte H. de Charencey (Paris, 1870). In p. 2 of the prologue, Reyes says that the Mixteca Alta was called *ñudzavui ñuhu* which he defines as "something divine and esteemed." I read it as "place of the rain god."
6. Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, ed. *Papeles de Nueva España*: Segund seríe: Geografía y Estadística. 6 vol. (Mexico, 1905). IV. pp. 53-57. Relaciones Geográficas for Texupa, 1579. See also: Borah and Cook, p.12.; Reyes, p. vii.; Spores, *The Mixtec Kings and their People* (Oklahoma, 1967).
7. Archivo General de Indias: Contaduría 657, f. 767.
8. *Vocabulario en Lengua Mixteca* por Fray Francisco de Alvarado (Mexico, 1593). Reproducción facsimilar con un estudio de Wigberto Jimenez Moreno (Mexico, 1962). See also Robert Ricard, *The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico: An Essay on the Apostolate and the Evangelizing Methods of the Mendicant Orders in New Spain, 1523-1572*. (Paris, 1933). trans. by Lesley Byrd Simpson (Berkeley: UC Press, 1966).
9. Antonio de Nebrija, *Gramática de la Lengua Castellana* (1492), ed. I. González-Llubera (Oxford, 1926) pp. 3-6.
10. Two of these copies are in the Huntington Library in Pasadena (1567, 1568) in the dialects of Tlaxiaco and Achiutla.
11. Reyes, Prologue, iii.
12. Alvarado, Prologue.
13. ibid., Prologue.
14. I am most grateful to Gonzalo Guerrero, who is in charge of the Archivo Judicial de Teposcolula, for his assistance and expertise.
15. In a sample of Mixtec caciques and nobles who testified in

the dispute between Yanhuitlan and Tecomatlan in 1571, about half claimed they knew Nahuatl. On the other hand, one Juan Gaytan didn't know what the court meant by Yanhuitlan or Tecomatlan--he only knew their Mixtec names. Archivo General de Indias: Escríbania, leg. 162C, ff. 516-520.

16. The Nahuas and Mixtecs shared the same calendar, dividing the solar year into 18 20-day periods, each day represented by a sign. *Acatl* is "reed" and *Caltzin* is "house" (reverential) in Nahuatl, two signs in the calendar which had their Mixtec equivalents.

17. As Charles Gibson has demonstrated, governors in this early period were most certainly caciques and the two positions rotated according to preconquest design. See *Aztecs Under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519-1821*. (Stanford, 1964).

18. As always, I am grateful for James Lockhart's help with this analysis.

19. I understand this is common in the census materials from Cuernavaca, for instance.

20. A *brasa* is something like the average distance between the thumbs when one's arms are outstretched horizontally, or about four to five feet. Thus the land was probably about 600 x 350 feet. The Nahuatl *quauitl* refers to a stick with which to measure and *matl* is the equivalent of a yard or so. For terminology, see *Beyond the Codices: The Nahua View of Colonial Mexico* by Anderson, Berdan and Lockhart (Berkeley: UC Press, 1976) pp. 90-91 for example.

21. The second definition for *hacer* given by Alvarado in his *Vocabulario* is *yoquidzahuahandi*, after *yoquidzandi* .

22. Reyes, p. 14 and pp. 74-86.

23. ibid., p.2.

24. Curiously, one of the words for a Nahua given by Alvarado is *tay ñudzuma* or "someone from the place behind" or the "place of the tail."

25. The proper construction in Reyes for "*hacer mercedes el señor*" is *yosahañahata* and "son-in-law" is *dzayacadza*. The *da* endings may be *dza*. Reyes, p. 76.

26. *Caa* is found in Alvarado as a generic term for metal, much like the Nahuatl use of *tepuztli* for "iron." A natural response was to call European objects or phenomena by familiar terms, using the nearest known equivalent as a model. Another example is using "deer" for "horse"-- *maçatl* and *ydzu*. For a discussion of the adaptation of Nahuatl to Spanish, see *Nahuatl in the Middle Years: Language Contact Phenomena in Texts of the Colonial Period* by Frances Karttunen and James Lockhart (Los Angeles: UC Press, 1976).

27. *quhni* is a twisted form of *qhumi* or *qumi* for the number "four."

28. Most placenames in the Mixteca during the colonial period (and still today) were designated by the conquering Aztecs and

continued by the Spaniards. They are usually equivalent terms. *Coaitlahuacan* is *Yodzocoo* in Mixtec and *Yuguinche* or *Nuguichee* in Chocho, meaning the "plains of snakes." *Texupan* is *Ñundáá* meaning "blue earth"; *Teposcolollan* means "place of curved copper axes in Nahuatl, but the Mixtec, *Yucundaá* means "maguey hill."

29. Archivo General de la Nacion: Tierras, v. 232, exp. 1, 53ff.

30. This is also a recurring theme in James Lockhart's past and present work, especially in his forthcoming book on the Nahuas.

BOOK REVIEWS

I. S. Robinson, *The Papacy 1073-1198: Continuity and Innovation*, Cambridge Medieval Textbooks, Cambridge University Press, 1990. xvi, 555 pp.

This fine book meets an important need in medieval historiography in English and makes a distinguished addition to the Cambridge Medieval Textbooks. Like other books in this series, it provides not an elementary introduction but rather a thorough treatment and a perceptive assessment of the state of scholarship on its subject. Its audience will undoubtedly consist primarily of graduate students and established scholars working the ecclesiastical and institutional history of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but given the central role of the papacy in medieval life, people in other areas of medieval studies and the history of religion will also find it rewarding. Until now, English-language scholarship has lacked a work of this sort. One has had to rely on short and unsatisfactory surveys of the papacy during the entire Middle Ages, on general histories of the medieval Church, or else on highly specialized monographs and articles which cover some but not all aspects of the medieval papacy. Scholarship in other languages makes good this lack in English, but even those with a thorough knowledge of German, French, and Italian research on the papacy will find fresh interpretations here. Robinson has an exemplary command of the relevant scholarship; the guide through the labyrinth of German work on the papacy and the medieval Empire which his footnotes provide would alone be worth the price of the book. But it offers much more, providing an

analysis of the papacy's evolution in a crucial period of the institution's history.

Robinson divides the book into two main sections. The first of these, "The Papal Government," discusses the institutional structure of the papacy in seven chapters which cover the secular lordship of the popes in Rome and central Italy, the college of cardinals, papal councils, legates, papal justice and litigation, relations with bishops and the religious orders, and papal finances. These chapters provide a coherent picture of the institutional underpinnings of the papacy and its role in ecclesiastical governance. The lengthy chapter on the college of cardinals (pp. 33-120) provides a particularly valuable discussion of the multitude of roles played by the cardinals in this period. These seven chapters convey both the increasing centralization of ecclesiastical authority in the papacy and the considerable power still exercised by local figures.

The second main section, "The Papacy and the Secular Powers," treats the role of the papacy in the secular politics of the period. The first of the four chapters in this section describes the political theories of the popes beginning with Gregory VII. The next chapter depicts the papel role in the genesis of the crusade movement and the efforts of later popes to control later crusades and the crusader states. Both of these chapters provide useful sketches, though the latter might have profited from recent scholarship on Christian-Muslim relations in Spain. The final two chapters concern the complicated relations between the papacy and its two most troublesome neighbors, the Norman principalities of southern Italy (unified as a kingdom in the early twelfth century) and the German emperors, who as Kings of Italy wielded extensive powers and pressed even more extensive claims in northern and central Italy. Rome and the papal domains in central Italy lay between these two powers, and much of the papal history of the period revolved around protecting these lands and often the pope himself from the Emperor or the Norman princes. These chapters, and particularly the immense final chapter, "Papacy and Empire" (pp. 398-524), furnish balanced, masterly narratives of the papal role in the power politics of the Italian peninsula from the beginnings of the Investiture Controversy through the imperial conquest of the Kingdom of Sicily in the 1190s. The present reviewer knows of no other work which covers this subject as judiciously in the relatively short space of about 150 pages.

One must note some shortcomings in the book. Robinson's choice of 1073 as a starting point constitutes a serious flaw in the substance of the book. The author contends (p. ix and *passim*) that the accession of Gregory VII in this year marked the beginning of a new papal reform movement, distinct from the reforms begun with imperial sponsorship in the mid-eleventh century. This contention has considerable merit; at the very least, Gregory pursued a new and radical approach to reform in his attacks on lay investiture. Nonetheless, one cannot fully understand the import of Gregory's program without some grounding in the reforms from 1046 onward. Robinson necessarily refers back to this earlier reform movement at various points, but his discussion of Gregory's impact would have benefitted from more treatment of his immediate antecedents and early career.

The other deficiencies of the book arise in connection with its role as a textbook, or more properly as a reference work for scholars and advanced students. Most notably, one must lament the lack of an annotated bibliography, a helpful feature of some other volumes in the Cambridge Medieval Textbooks. Graduate students in particular would find a description of the principal primary sources useful. The footnotes, it is true, constitute a sweeping guide to the sources and scholarly literature, but they do not lend themselves to quick searching, particularly since the index does not include secondary authors. A fuller table of contents, listing subheads within chapters as well as titles would also ease the task of finding particular subjects and references.

These minor reservations notwithstanding, this book will prove invaluable to scholars in many areas of medieval studies. Robinson's text reads well, and he explains the many scholarly controversies which surround the history of the papacy with fairness to all parties. Cambridge University Press deserves praise for offering the book in paperback at a price ($16.95) affordable to students (also available in hardcover). All in all, Robinson has performed a valuable service to medieval scholarship and made an excellent addition to a worthy series.

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McGee, R. Jon. *Life, Ritual, and Religion Among the Lacandon Maya.* Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1990, pp. xiii + 158.

Anthropologist R. Jon McGee's work on the Lacandon Maya of Eastern Chiapas (identified by Julian Stewart as part of the "Western Maya" region) reflects the changing emphases of a new generation of ethnographers. On the surface, this book appears to be a standard ethnography--the study of one particular religious ceremony (the *balche*) the understanding of which McGee takes to provide "deep insight" into Lacandon beliefs in general. Here, the author shows his real mettle as an ethnographer. But this work is important because it employs a post-positivist perspective which moves beyond the functionalist's concern with the material components of culture to the meaning attached to these, an approach best exemplified in the work of Clifford Geertz and Johannes Wilbert. In addition, this work contains a number of unusual (for an anthropologist) observations about the impact of modernization on traditional societies.

The core of this work resides in a series of chapters comprising an analysis of the *balche* ritual in this group whom the author holds to be one of the few remaining non-Christian Indian groups in Mexico. McGee follows Johannes Wilbert's work with the Warao of Venezuela by contending that cultures are best studied from a holistic approach in which a part of the whole is examined in order to understand the entire nature of the whole. Wilbert analyzed the cultural complex of canoe-making. McGee focuses on the religious ritual of making and consuming the sacred drink, *balche*. McGee's thesis holds that the *balche* ceremony stands as a model for Lacandon ritual action in that it symbolizes a larger set of interrelated cosmological beliefs. Thus, understanding this one rite provides deep insight into Lacandon religious beliefs in general.

To his credit, McGee disagrees with many of his more grey-haired colleagues in analyzing the impact of modernization on the Lacandon. For example, with regard to the influence of tourism on these Indians, McGee notes that participation by the Lacandon in the tourist trade generates money used in supplementing a meager horticultural lifestyle. He maintains that the tourist trade, "gives these small-scale farmers subsistence flexibility in the face of environmental uncertainty and provides a valuable supplement to a house-

hold's income without detracting from traditional subsistence activities." (42)

The author also disagrees with certain "romantic-minded anthropologists" who bemoan the imminent demise of Lacandon culture and point to the degradation of the environment by the Mexican lumber and petroleum industries as an analogy for a process of cultural disintegration. He suggests that other anthropologists rely too heavily on the perspectives of their informants in assuming that Lacandon culture will die with its elders. Instead, McGee sees a natural process of acculturation and adaptation. He points to social and economic factors providing incentives for younger men to maintain traditional Lacandon culture. Rather than the helpless pawns overwhelmed by outside forces as depicted in the popular media, McGee sees the Lacandon engaging in a pragmatic response to Mexican culture by assimilating the outside world to fit their own lives and meet their own purposes.

A weakness of this work is the result of the author's attempt to augment the traditional participant-observation methodology with the ethnohistorian's analysis of documentary evidence. He argues that the contemporary Lacandon society can best be understood from an ethnohistorical perspective. This work is not a true ethnohistory. The documentary evidence on the Lacandon is too scanty to attempt any more than some reasonable guesses as to the origins of this particular group of the Maya. This is precisely what McGee attempts to accomplish in a chapter dedicated to disproving the commonly held notion that the Lacandon are descendents of the Maya who built the temples at Palenque and Yaxchilan. Instead, he interprets the historical record in such a way as to lend credence to his theory of a Yucatecan origin. Fleeing from the Spaniard's conquest of the Yucatan, the Lacandon are to have migrated to Chiapas in the mid-seventeenth century. Why the Lacandon were not decimated by the same diseases which struck the groups whose vacated lands they occupied remains unanswered.

The author's treatment of the documentary evidence perpetuates the Black Legend. To support his theory of Yucatecan origin, McGee recites the familiar litany of conquistador atrocities and subsequent Inquisitorial brutality, speculating that these may have caused the flight of a group who migrated south to Chiapas. He apparently does not realize that after the battles of conquest, Spanish interests were better served by cultivating Indian labor and tribute.

Clerical punishment of Indians came under attack in the second and third generations after conquest in Central Mexico because clergy were thought to be intruding upon the prerogatives of royal authority. Nevertheless, McGee's perspective provides a provocative interpretation of the historical record which albeit, fails to fully justify his theory of Yucatecan origin.

This book is important principally for its contribution to a new type of anthropology. While maintaining the rigorous ethnographic standards of the functionalists in answering the question "how," the author adds the search for meaning in pursuit of the question "why." In addition, he challenges the assumptions of many anthropologists regarding the impact of modernization on traditional societies. This work is most speculative in its attempt to trace the origins of the Lacandon Maya. Perhaps this is simply the reflection of the scarcity of documentary sources on the Lacandon. At any rate, McGee's ambitions to incorporate an ethnohistorical element fall short at this point.

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Ida Altman. *Emigrants and Society. Extremadura and Spanish America in the Sixteenth Century.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989. 372 pp.

The focus of this book is really narrower than that of its billing, Extremadura and Spanish America in the Sixteenth Century. It is based half upon Altman's 1981 doctoral dissertation on "Emigrants, Returnees and Society in Sixteenth Century Cáceres" (Johns Hopkins University), some of which ironically does not make it to the book, and half upon Altman's return to the Spanish archives in 1984 and 1987 to add Trujillo to the study. The book therefore does not deal with other important extremeño cities such as Alcantará, Badajoz and Mérida. There is also a late-century emphasis, apparently determined by source availability. This localization of focus actually strengthens the work, allowing for detailed examples and sparing the reader the dehumanization of the exclusively statistical approach.

As a social history of Cáceres and Trujillo this work

is a valuable contribution to the historiography of Spain, a country which has lagged far behind England, France and Italy as an object of English-language sociohistorical scrutiny. Solely with the first four chapters of this book Altman has placed herself among the likes of William Christian, Heath Dillard, Richard Kagan and David Vassberg. These chapters offer an overview of "the structure, composition and functioning of local society in Cáceres and Trujillo" (p.277), including a dissection of social classes and their economic base, an examination of inheritance patterns, and a survey of land tenure.

In an apparently exhaustive analysis of her notarial sources, Altman presents a complex portrait of social and economic interaction, from the role of women and clerics to the price fluctuations of land, bread and livestock.

This social study does not only justify itself, but in the context of this book, is justified by Altman's perception of local society as "the primary milieu in which the majority of people functioned and the main focus for their loyalty and interest" (p.278). This was as true for those who emigrated to the New World as it was for those who stayed. In chapter five, Altman discusses in detail the nature of emigration to Spanish America, presenting the statistics on how many of what type of Spaniard left where for what destination, their occupations, and their costs. Altman also presents the temporal fluctuations of these statistics. She reveals the extent to which emigrants travelled in groups, and the importance of contacts in the New World. As one might expect, hometown affinity played an omnipresent part, overlapping where possible with kin ties.

The contribution this work makes to Latin American historiography is strong, though it is a shame that Altman could not trace individual emigrants through the local archives in Spanish America to establish specific settlement termini and create a multiple career-pattern history. Such an endeavour would presumably take a lifetime. Instead Altman relies on secondary material--such as work by Mario Góngora, James Lockhart, who also gave Altman access to his research notes on early Peru, and Efraim Trelles--to supplement the few gems on emigrants' fates discovered in Spanish archives--such as a body of private letters from an Alvaro de Paredes in Mexico found in the archive of the Monasterio de Guadalupe.

Altman was also able to combine her notarial sources from Cáceres and Trujillo with published demographic work--

most notably that of Peter Boyd-Bowman--to show that the destination of preference shifted from Hispaniola to New Spain with Cortés' conquest, and to Peru after 1530, with Pizarro's return to Trujillo for recruitment purposes. The connections established as a result of this recruitment drive were such that returnees to Extremadura from anywhere in New Spain became known as "peruleros." Altman confirms previously noted patterns of emigration showing Extremadura coming a close second to Andalucia as a provider of emigrants to Spanish America. It would be interesting to compare Altman's work with a similar study, if it could be done, on Mérida, Cortés' hometown.

In the final two chapters before her conclusion Altman comes up with no surprises: Spaniards emigrated in a quest for status and wealth; some, having achieved it, returned; most stayed, whether successful or not.

One suspects that Altman might have made more vivid and graphic use of some of the better examples supporting her analysis, and she tends towards over-lengthy sentences. Direct quotes from more of the letters she refers to might have brought to life some of the individual Spaniards serving as examples. But this is mere carping. The book is generally well-written, and succeeds in bridging the Atlantic Ocean with a remarkable coherency. It has received some rave reviews--J.F. Schwaller called it "a masterpiece" and Helen Nader predicted it would be "the definitive work on the subject"--and deservedly so. Few scholars can endure research this intensive and still go on to analyze and compose with such a clear mind.

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Linda A. Newson. *Indian Survival in Colonial Nicaragua.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987.

A geographer by training, Linda A. Newson attempts to study the demography of the Nicaraguan Indians in the pre and post-colonial eras. Unfortunately for Newson, the Indians of Nicaragua left nothing in the form of written sources. She must, by necessity, rely on documents produced by the Spanish. While this in and of itself does not

determine the quality or the contribution of the work to the field (one need only examine the works of Farriss and Sherman, to name just two), it lends itself better to areas where extensive documentation can be found. Most of the extant colonial documents for the Audiencia de Guatemala are linked to the region in the immediate vicinity of Santiago or to areas of important economic activity, the mines of Honduras for example. Lacking any importance, beyond a zone for slaving which quickly was exhausted, Nicaragua had little in the form of material wealth to offer the Spaniards. Nicaragua was a backwater, for Central America in general never attained the importance to the crown that the central valley of Mexico or the mines of Potosí did.

Newson divides her book into six parts. The first and second parts deal with the size of the population in the pre-colonial era. The bulk of the work is based on the writings of the chroniclers Oviedo, Ponce, Torquemada, Gonzaléz Davila and a collection of modern writers, in particular Radell and Denevan. In fact her original research for these parts is rather skimpy. When she does use censuses from the colonial period, they are from the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, much too late to be germane to her study. In part three she discusses the enslavement of the Indians and the attempts by some crown officials to reduce the abuse of Indian laborers. William L. Sherman covered the topic in greater depth, and with greater original research, in his book *Forced Native Labor in Sixteenth-Century Central America.*

Newson treads safer ground in the section that deals with the period from 1550-1720. The ready availability of censuses, tribute lists, parish records, and other documents allows her conclusions to rest on more solid evidence. Yet here too she relies heavily on the work of other historians, chiefly on Murdo MacLeod's *Spanish Central America.* Newson makes much of the cultural diversity and differences between the Pacific and Caribbean coasts. She found that the inhabitants of the Pacific side were more influenced by the Maya and Nahuatl speakers whereas the Indians of the Caribbean were influenced more by the Indians of South America. Newson also discusses the role of the English in developing the Caribbean coast; Woodward found this true also for Guatemala in his book *Empires in the Wilderness: The British in Nineteenth Century Guatemala.*

In all fairness it must be stated that Newson took on the extremely difficult topic of Indian survival in the colonial period. Solano did much the same thing for Guatemala,

though his work deals with a later period and he had the good fortune of having the writings of Cortéz y Larraz as well as a wealth of primary documentation to support his conclusions. Like Inga Clendinnen, she relies excessively on secondary sources; however, Newson's work is far from a narrative in that it concerns itself more with cultural history. While there is nothing wrong with relying on the works of previous authors, basing an entire study on secondary sources contributes little to the field. While her book does have some original thoughts they are buried in a sea of well-known facts.

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Roderic A. Camp, *Entrepreneurs and Politics in Twentieth-Century Mexico*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Camp thematically examines the relationship between the private sector and the state in Mexico since 1920. He applies a variety of methodologies in testing a number of assumptions about the role of the entrepreneur in twentieth-century Mexico. He makes available for the first time collective biographical data on the social background and economic experience of a broad group of Mexican entrepreneurs. Throughout the text are interspersed valuable perspectives from first hand interviews reflecting the views of entrepreneurs and government officials. He draws portraits of typical Mexican entrepreneurial types and the institutions they represent These are then presented in the larger context of the Mexican state and the general political process.

By using mostly original sources, Camp in his study provides much new information concerning the relationship between the private sector and the state. The most important among these sources are the extensive oral interviews with entrepreneurs and politicians which Camp has conducted since the late 1960s as part of a long-term project to test the presence of a power elite in Mexico. This biographical data and firsthand interviews provide an empirical and insightful picture of the makeup of Mexico's leading entrepreneurs and reveals important trends over time.

He first provides a historical sketch of private sector-

state relations in chapter two. In an effort to present a more complete picture of business people and their impact on social change, he then explores the entrepreneurs themselves in chapter three. In chapter four, Camp analyzes the differences in the backgrounds of prominent entrepreneurs and the importance of their origins in explaining their behavior, achievements, and relationships to other groups. The interchangeability of their leaderships is the subject of chapter five. In chapter six, Camp discusses entrepreneurial influence on political decision-making. Chapter seven is devoted to a discussion of private sector interest groups. In chapter eight, Camp discusses two peculiarities Mexico's private sector shares with those of Latin America and other developing societies: the importance of family-owned corporations and the influence of large industrial holding companies (commonly called *grupos* in Mexico). The final chapter is a discussion of other variables which provide insights into the relationship between the private and public sectors in Mexico.

Complementing this biographical information is a data set on leading Mexican firms. Including information such as board membership, variables on ownership, ranking, group membership, and sectorial representation, this data helps to establish the nature of linkages between entrepreneurial families, and between traditional businessmen and politician-entrepreneurs.

Camp makes use of a number of thorough and very descriptive tables to illustrate his arguments. By presenting information in tables, Camp is able to illustrate a number of important points. Among these are: the linkages among banks, major firms, holding companies, and entrepreneurial families; the interlocking relationships between leading industrial groups and banks; and the continuation and extent of family control in Mexico's major enterprises.

Camp makes a strong contribution to the study of modern Mexico. He does much to uncover some of the myths underlying the many peculiarities that contribute to the unique evolution of the private sector's relationship to the state in Mexico. Camp shows that entrepreneurs are the strongest of a number of groups that influence policy-making by providing the most comprehensive analysis of this relationship to date.

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Kumar Rupesinghe, ed. *Conflict Resolution in Uganda.* London/Athens, Ohio: James Currey/Ohio University Press, 1989, viii + 308 pp.

This book is a compilation of some of the essays delivered at a Makerere University seminar in September 1987. It is the second international thinkpiece put out by Makerere Academia since 1986. (The last one being Beyond Crisis: Development Issues in Uganda, 1987, edited by Paul D. Wiebe and Cole P. Dodge).

The main issues covered in the book pertain to the nature of the various forms of conflict in Uganda. Following the introduction, the book deals in its second and third parts with the historical roots of the conflicts in the country, and with political institutions and ideology. Part Four examines economic problems and the conflicts it generates and the fifth part covers the international dimensions to the conflicts in Uganda.

In his introduction, Kumar Rupesinghe looks at the role of the state in the fermentation of conflict in Third World countries. He examines the problem of democratization in a militarized situation such as Uganda. He also analyzes the problems of economic transformation in Uganda whereby, as in other African and Third World countries, the state has instituted its own form of terror as a means of perpetuating its rule. My main query with Rupesinghe's analysis at this point is his attempt to minimize the role of international involvement in propping up state terrorism in Third World countries such as Uganda. Though terror often occurs when a regime runs out of support in its civilian polity, evidence suggests that such regimes are supported from the outside, in the form of grants, loans, military hardware and even torture devices. Therefore, the modern authoritarian regime in the Third World is also a product of international sponsorship.

Lwanga-Lunyiigo and Ginywera-Pinycwa examine the salient root causes of the conflicts prevalent in the country. Lwanga-Lunyiigo concludes that replicating exotic political models alien to the realities in the country will be an exercise in futility. He suggests that the country's destiny lies in its own abilities to create viable political, social and economic institutions that could withstand the conflicts it has generated. Ginywera-Pinycwa looks at the historical evolution of the "Northern Problem" and cautions that the North may follow the same separatist tendencies of Southern Sudan

if the socio-historical problems in the region are not addressed positively. He should have pointed out the Lakwena Uprising as a consequence of not resolving these problems in the region.

Yoramu Barongo, Abraham Kiapi, Dan Mudoola, Khiddu-Makubuya, Ijuka Kabumba and Ruth Mukama examine the political institutions and ideology in the country. Barongo makes an analytical examination of concepts such as "Cultural" and "Ethnic" Pluralism. He argues that Cultural Pluralism has little relevance in understanding the violent conflicts in the country. However, I feel that his differentiation between Cultural and Ethnic Pluralism is rather blurry because ethnic entities have also cultures. Therefore, the author should have amalgamated the two Pluralisms (i.e. an Ethno-Cultural paradigm) to make sense of what he wanted to convey rather than trying to separate the two concepts. Barongo and Kiapi share the same view that the country must have a unitary form of government. However, Barongo believes that a strong unitary government can exist side by side with strong local governments. The two authors, especially Kiapi, discuss what mode of constitution the country should have. Kiapi maintains that the multi-party system in Uganda should be maintained. He cites other forms of constitutions, including those of the United States, France, Switzerland and the Soviet Union. The two authors, like other circles seem to suggest that the root cause of violent conflict in the country lies in the dysfunctional constitution framework the country has had for a long time. This argument does not hold, for, it is the political, social and economic institutions that determine the workability or unworkability of a constitution. Closer to home, they cite Nigeria's form of Federalism as a constitutional alternative, and yet by the mere fact that the country's two elected governments have both been overthrown leaves much to be desired as to whether that form of government could work in Uganda.

Mudoola's paper gives us a historical and political analysis of the conflicts within the military. However, his essay does not deal with the problem of having the military in the first place. First of all, the military serves various interests in power. Second, having a large military (in Uganda, estimated at 60,000 strong) puts a drain on the country's resources. It is therefore of little surprise that the military in Uganda and most other Third World countries has proven to be a parasite that drains valuable resources earmarked for "development" in addition to being an instrument

that perpetuates instability in the country. Even if no one group has an exclusive monopoly on the military as the Ugandan situation suggests, the regime's ability to discipline the army becomes a big problem, resulting in more social disorder and eventual atrophy of the incumbent regime as past instances suggest. Khiddu-Makubuya gives us a chronological formation of various paramilitary organizations such as the General Service Unit under the First Obote regime, the State Research Bureau under the Amin regime and various Post-Amin secret police organizations. As the author suggests, it remains to be seen whether the Security Organizations Statute of 1987 will curb the extra-legal abuses these organizations are known to have committed.

Kabumba and Mukama deal with ethnic conflicts within the public service sector and the national language question respectively. If Kabumba put into perspective, the class dimension of the so-called ethnic conflicts within the public service, we should have got a better scenario behind the dynamics of such contentions. However, he does so, in a latent manner, when he suggests that ethnic conflicts are often more evident at the top echelons of the civil service. Mukama's analysis suggests that the country's quest for a national language is far from being resolved.

Firimooni Banugire and Apolo Nsibambi examine the status of the economy with an emphasis on land distribution. Banugire looks at the deterioration of social and economic institutions and the increasing marginalization of the low income workers and peasants in an economy that continues to falter. He advocates social changes in the political and economic arenas as a means of arresting the deteriorating economic situation. While Banugire approaches the economic situation from a bottom-up approach (looking at the plight of low income workers and peasants), Nsibambi's approach is that of a top-bottom approach whereby he cites land disputes among the upper class elites such as Mulondo, Semakula, Kaggwa, Kulubya, Binaisa, etc. Unlike Banugire who advocates social change, Nsibambi seems to support the status-quo in the country's socio-economic relations.

There are several contradictions in Nsibambi's analysis. First, he argues that the land problem is not a very big issue in the country and yet he indicates in the Mbale vs. Bugisu Co-operative Union (B.C.U.) Ltd. case, that peasants are discontented with the legacies of Kakungulu, a British agent who grabbed a lot of land as he conquered that area on behalf of British Imperialism. From Nsibambi's analysis, it

seems the current land dispossessions by the B.C.U. is also backed by its protege The World Bank. He does a good job of describing corruption in high circles without analyzing the root cause of that corruption. This corruption is the result of the country's weak economic standing in the world economy and the social conflicts this predicament tends to generate. He also advances an often misconceived notion that the majority of Ugandans are capitalists. In order for one to qualify being a capitalist one needs a substantial amount of capital to invest and run a business venture. Even in the most advanced capitalist nations, real capitalists constitute a minority of the population. It may be true that as a result of the political socialization emanating from British Colonialism, a substantial number of people have "pro-capitalist" sympathies. In that case we need to differentiate between being a "pro-capitalist" and being a real "capitalist."

Akiiki Mujaju and Oliver Furley examine conflict in its internal and external context. However, the economic dimension of this conflict within these authors' analyses does not come out clearly, maybe with the exception of Furley who argues that Britain would like to keep Uganda in its sphere of influence should something happen to Kenya as the August 1, 1982 coup attempt in that country suggests.

On the whole, the book contains lively essays that depict the realities of contemporary Uganda. One objection to the essays as a whole, with the exception of Banugire's, is that Makerere Academia should outgrow the use of outmoded Oxbridge models that are increasingly incapable of explaining the country's political and economic problems.

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